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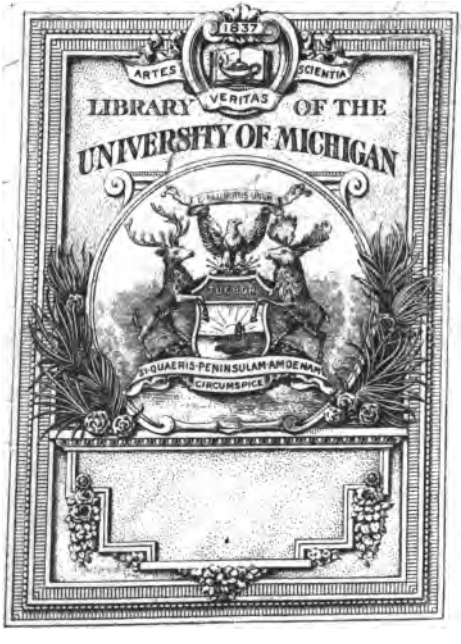
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APPENDIX.

This book formerly belonged to BENJAMIN PETER HUNT, who was born in Chelmsford, Middlesex County, Massachusetts, on the 18th day of May, 1808. His ancestors were of the early Puritan stock, and in 1641 we find one of them, "William Hunt, admitted freeman of Concord," and in 1655 another, Edmund Chamberlain, the same, of Chelmsford. From his mother (Olive Chamberlain) Hunt, he inherited a wonderfully retentive memory, a calm and impartial judgment, and the absolute loathing of all deception, shams, and falsehood, which made him such a terror to evil-doers. His valuable library was left to his heirs—neices and nephews.

He attended the common school until he was seventeen, when a year spent under the instruction of Ralph Waldo Emerson, at the Chelmsford Academy, gave him an impulse to a higher education. In 1828 he entered Harvard College, the classmate, among others, of the Rev. Doctors Bellows and Osgood, the Honorable Geo. T. Curtis, John S. Dwight Esq., and the Rev. Charles T. Brooks. Not remaining to finish the course, he came to Philadelphia, literally to seek his fortune. He taught a classical and scientific school for a number of years, reading everything that came in his way, and always seeking for his associates the cultivated and refined of both sexes.

At last, disgusted with the school-[illegible]s drudgery, he determined to adopt a new [illegible]ling, and sailed for Kingston, Ja., on the 6th of March, 1840, as supercargo of the brig "Olive Chamberlain." An account of this voyage was published in two numbers of "The Dial," in 1843. Emerson speaks of it as follows: "It seems to me the best of all sea voyages. Besides its rhetorical value, it has another quite additional, inasmuch as it realizes so fully for me the promise of the large, wise boy who made my school-days in Chelmsford so glad by his lively interest in books and his native delight in ethical thought, and life looks more solid and rich to me when I see these many years keep their faith." Hawthorne cites this piece from "The Dial" as "a solitary example of facts which had not lost their vigor by passing through the mind of a thinker."

In 1842 Mr. Hunt went to Hayti to engage in mercantile business, landing at Cape Haytien in May, 1842, just after the earthquake had nearly buried the town. Here, at the scene of the defeat of Le Clerc's expedition, he visited the birthplace of Toussaint, and the old haunts of Dessalines and Christophe, and here began his study of the West Indian negro character and his almost unique collection of books relating to these islands. Success attended his efforts, and he became the head of a wealthy commercial house in Port-au-Prince. The natural integrity of his character, his close attention to business, and his pleasure in literature, kept him from the dissipation and immorality into which foreigners in the West Indies so often fall. In 1851 he married a lady of Philadelphia, and in 1858, after making several visits to the United States, his health began to fail, and he retired from business, making Philadelphia his home, and he was only too happy to spend his life in his quiet library among his beloved books.

A sincere abolitionist, Mr. Hunt early took part in the work for the freedmen, and earnestly labored as the Corresponding Secretary of the Port Royal Relief Committee, the Secretary and Treasurer of the Pennsylvania Freedmen's Relief Association—which latter position he relinquished when it became a salaried office,—and as one of the Supervisory Committee for Recruiting Colored Soldiers in Pennsylvania. When the war was ended, he set himself to right the wrongs of the colored people in his adopted city.

In June, 1869, Mr. Hunt was requested by President Grant, through Secretary Fish, to "join a party of gentlemen, going to the West Indies for the purpose of obtaining information concerning several interesting localities in those islands, but more especially Saint Domingo." This project of annexation was very dear to him, but from motives entirely different from such as governed many of those interested in the subject. To some it was either the advantages of a coaling station, or so much more gold, sugar, coffee, and rum added, free of duty, to their commerce; but to him it was the door which opened the way for our laws, civilization, and Christianity, to permeate a half-barbarous community of blacks, who are keeping up to this day many of the superstitious practices which they brought from Africa. On the eve of the commission's departure from New York he was obliged reluctantly to give up his share in it, on account of sickness; but he kept, to the day of his death, the unshaken faith, that, sooner or later, the islands of the West Indies will form a part of the great Republic of America; and he left, unpublished, a most interesting and valuable account of the condition of society as he found it in Hayti, which his long intercourse with its people, his sympathy for them, and his insight into character, rendered him peculiarly fitted to describe. Mr. Hunt died at the Harrison Mansion, Frankford, Philadelphia, February 2, 1877.

His physican said, "When I look at Mr. Hunt in his sufferings, I can think of no other word than 'majestic,' to describe his appearance." When some one said to him a few days before his death, "I think you will be a judge in the spirit world,—for if ever any one could decide between right and wrong, justice and injustice, you are that one," he replied, "I cannot tell what I shall be there, nor even if I shall go to heaven; but wherever the Lord appoints me, and gives me a work to do, there is my place, and there I shall be satisfied." Very respectfully,

SAMUEL C. HUNT, his nephew.

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CONSIDERATIONS

ON

THE RELATIVE SITUATION

OF

FRANCE,

AND THE

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

SHEWING

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION TO THE WELFARE OF FRANCE:

GIVING ALSO

An Account of their Productions, and the reciprocal Advantages which may be drawn from their Commercial Connexions:

AND FINALLY,

POINTING OUT THE ACTUAL SITUATION

OF THE

UNITED STATES.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH OF

ETIENNE CLAVIERE,

AND

J. P. BRISSOT DE WARVILLE.

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1788.

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INTRODUCTION

By J. P. BRISSOT DE WARVILLE.

ENGLAND had ſcarcely ſigned the painful treaty, which deprived her for ever of her American colonies, than her merchants and political writers ſought the means of rendering to her by commerce, what ſhe had juſt loſt by that memorable inſurrection.

Lord Sheffield predicted, in a work full of important details *, that England would always

* The work entitled, Obſervations on the Commerce of the American States, London, 1783. This treatiſe has gone through

always be the ſtorehouſe of the United States; that the Americans conſtantly attracted, by the excellence of its manufactures, the long experienced integrity of its merchants, and the length of credit, which they

through ſix editions; it has not been tranſlated into French, although it abounds with facts important for France to be acquainted with. It is aſſured, that M. Deane furniſhed the author with moſt of them, and that the tables are as exact as it is poſſible for them to be, conſidering the aboliſhment of duties.

Although this work may have been well received by the Engliſh, it has, nevertheleſs, many defects: The author has not always taken his matter from a good ſource: he has ſhewn towards France and America prejudices, which could not but lead him aſtray: beſides, he has diſcovered no philoſophical views, nor even a more than common policy. The public might have expected a ſuperior work upon this ſubject, in a country which has produced the exact and profound Smith.

Lord Sheffield has had contradicters even in England; they did not ſuffer themſelves to be led away, like him, by the enthuſiaſm of patriotiſm.

I muſt remark on this occaſion the good effects of public diſcuſſion. The ſixth edition of Lord Sheffield's work gives many additions, and ſome alterations; the objections which had been made to him forced him to produce his proofs. It is not thought ſtrange in England, that an Engliſhman expoſes to public view the abuſes which reign in its manufactures and commerce, and which might cauſe it to be inferior in the markets of Europe. The Engliſh are perſuaded that it is the only method to reform them. In other ſtates this patriotic ſervice would be looked upon as treaſon.

they in Europe only can give, would ſoon forget the wounds which the miniſterial deſpotiſm of London, as well as the ferocity of the Engliſh and German ſatellites, had given to America, to form with it new and durable connections.

This politician was the only one who appeared in that career; others followed it †; and the debates, which the new regulations of commerce propoſed for America, produced in Parliament, prove that the matter was known, diſcuſſed, and profoundly examined.

The Engliſh nation reſembled at that time a man, who, coming out of a long delirium, wherein he had broken every thing that was moſt precious to him, deſtroyed what he held the moſt dear, eagerly ſtrives to repair the ravages of his cruel inſanity.

As for us, we have triumphed; and the honour of the triumph is, ſince the peace,

† Such were the celebrated Doctor Price, and Meſſieurs Chalmers, Edwards, Anderſon, &c.

A treatiſe on the ſame ſubject has been printed at Philadelphia, under the title of *Bingham's Strictures on Commerce, in reply to Lord Sheffield's Obſervations.* I have not been able to procure this work.

almoſt the only benefit we have reaped. Tranquil under the ſhade of our laurels, we obſerve, with but a trifling concern, the relations of commerce which nature has created between us and the *United States*; theſe relations which it is ſo important to us to examine profoundly. We think, but with indifference, of deſtroying the obſtacles, which our forms, our laws, and our manners oppoſe to this commerce;—we even do not ſtudy them:—in a word, we ſeem to repoſe ourſelves, whilſt, to uſe the language of vulgar policy, theſe people, of whom we are jealous as our rivals, whom we fear as our enemies, uſe the greateſt efforts to make it impoſſible for us to form new connections with our new friends.

That they will ſucceed, there is no doubt of, if our languor for the commerce of America be not ſoon replaced by activity; if the greateſt and moſt generous faculties, on our part, do not ſmooth this commerce, new, and conſequently eaſy to be facilitated: finally, if our ignorance of the ſtate of America be not ſpeedily diſſipated by the conſtant ſtudy of its reſources of territory, com-

commerce, finance, &c. and affinities they may have with thoſe of their own.

Our ignorance! This word will undoubtly ſhock,—for we have the pride of an ancient people: We think we know every thing,—have exhauſted every thing:—Yes, we have exhauſted every thing; but in what? In futile ſciences, in frivolous arts, in modes, in luxury, in the art of pleaſing women, and the relaxation of morals. We make elegant courſes of chymiſtry, charming experiments, delicious verſes, ſtrangers at home, little informed of any thing abroad: this is what we are; that is, we know every thing, *except that which is proper for us to know* *.

It

* This aſſertion will perhaps appear ſevere and falſe, even to perſons who think that we excel in phyſics and the exact ſciences. But in granting this, is it theſe kinds of ſciences to which a man who reflects, ought at firſt to give himſelf up? Does not the ſtudy of his ſocial and civil ſtate more nearly concern him? Ought not this to intereſt him more than the number of ſtars, or the order of chymical affinities?—It is, however, the ſcience of which we think the leaſt. We are paſſionately fond of poetry: we diſpute ſeriouſly about muſic; that is, we have a great conſideration for play-things, and make a play-thing of our affairs.

I do

It would be opening a vaſt field, to ſhew what is proper for us to know; therefore, I will not undertake it at preſent. I confine myſelf to a ſingle point: I ſay that it concerns us eſſentially to have a thorough knowledge of the ſtate of America, and that, nevertheleſs, we have ſcarcely begun the alphabet which leads to it. What I advance has been ſaid before by Mr. Payne, a free American, and who has not a little contributed, by his patriotic writings, to ſpread, ſupport, and exalt, among his fellow countrymen, the enthuſiaſm of liberty. I will remark, ſays he, in his judicious letter to the Abbé Raynal, *that I have not yet ſeen a deſcription, given in Europe, of America, of which the fidelity can be relied on.*

And what would this reſpectable defender of liberty ſay, if he were to remain ſometime

I do not, however, deny that there are men of abilities in France, and good books full of ſound political ideas. What is now agitating in the aſſembly of Notables, proves that theſe ideas begin to extend themſelves, and would ſoon become general, were they favoured by circumſtances. But waiting for theſe circumſtances, our inclination is viſibly directed towards literature and the exact ſciences, and not towards the ſcience of our civil relations; this is what I meaned here to ſay.

time among us, if he went into our brilliant ſocièties, if he liſtened to the prattlers of our clubs? He would be ſurpriſed, as the enlightened Americans are, that diſputes produce among us eternal miſtakes of one thing for another about American topography †;

† An American was one day deſcribing in a French ſociety, the manners, ſimple pleaſures, and ruſtic life of the Anglo-Americans: you are, then, from St. Domingo, ſaid a man to him decorated with a ribbon? The Americans of the continent, are perpetually confounded in France with thoſe of the iſlands; and thoſe of the north with thoſe of the ſouth. To avoid this confuſion, it will be abſolutely neceſſary to invent new denominations. That of *Anglo Americans* would not at preſent be juſt, as the colonies no longer belong to England; it is only proper to the inhabitants of Canada, New Scotland, &c. Might not theſe four people be thus diſtinguiſhed? *The free or independent American,—the North American,—the South American,—the Inſular American.* It will be aſked, why, in the firſt denomination, I do not put *ſouth* inſtead of *free*. It is becauſe the laſt epithet better characteriſes the republicans of America. It is by a reaſon in verſe, that I found the three other denominations upon the latitude or poſition. The inhabitants of the United States will therefore be deſignated in this work, under the denomination of free or independent Americans, until a better ſhall be found. The ancients thought it not indifferent to virtue, to give to their children names which inceſſantly recalled the remembrance of it to them. The new order of things which the revolution of America has produced, and the particular ſpirit of theſe republics, will make a new nomenclature neceſſary. I have

he would ſigh at the writings, dictated by prejudice, and by an ignorance of the American conſtitution; at the calumnies audaciouſly advanced againſt truth, and the reſources of the Americans. Among the writers, who have treated of the American revolution *, he would find what he has cenſured

ſeen writers apply to the conſideration of the American republics, the word *Empire*; never was a word more miſapplied.

* The moſt ſtriking writings on this ſubject are, *Le Tableau de la Revolution par M. l'Abbé Raynal, les Conſiderations ſur l'ordre de Cincènnatus par M. le Compte de Mirabeau, les Obſervations de M. l'Abbé Mably, et l'Hiſtoire impartiale de la derniere Guerre.*

The anſwer of M. Payne to M. l'Abbé Raynal, has juſtly appreciated the writing of the latter.

The conſiderations on the order of Cincinnatus, were originally by an American author, M. Burke, a man full of fire and energy. M. le Compte de Mirabeau, in tranſlating them, has given to the work a new value, and enriched it with important notes from a tranſlation of the excellent advice of Doctor Price to the Americans.

We muſt do juſtice to the good intentions of the Abbè Mably; but he had grown ruſty in too long a ſtudy of the old governments of Europe; he was too great an enthuſiaſt for the republics of Greece, to write without prejudice on the republics of America, whoſe conſtitution is infinitely ſuperior, or rather totally different from thoſe of Greece. I

have

cenſured in the eloquent author of the *Hiſtoire Philoſophique*, a thouſand errors, cauſed by a want of local knowledge. In the few merchants, who have, or wiſhed to form connections with America, he will neither ſee extended views, public ſpirit, nor inſtruction even joined to motives of gain.

What I have in another place advanced on our ignorance of the ſituation of the Eaſt Indies *, may therefore be applied to us

 with

have ſpoken in another place of the work of this French politician.

See Journal de Lice'e, &c. tom. 2. No. 5.

With reſpect to an impartial hiſtory, his title is undoubtedly a pleaſantry. It is an irregular compilation of Gazettes, without choice, care, or philoſophy; and I know not whether the author be not more to be blamed for what he has not ſaid, than for what he has ſaid. What Mr. Payne has ſaid of the Abbè Raynal, may be well applied to the Abbè Mably; "he makes ſuch frequent and glaring miſtakes in his geo-" graphical details, and in his accounts of battles, that his " faults would compoſe a volume."

* Deſcription of the ſituation of the Engliſh in India, &c. No. 1. A work, which particular circumſtances and invincible obſtacles, of which I may one day give an account, oblige me to ſuſpend for the preſent.

It would have been, I dare aſſert, very uſeful to make the hiſtory of the celebrated proſecution of Mr. Haſtings, underſtood

with reſpect to free America. Whilſt there are in England thouſands of men perfectly informed of the topography, productions, commerce, manners, and of the moſt trifling details of theſe two countries,—there are in France ſcarcely fifty who have the ſame degree of knowledge. Whilſt England ſees every year hundreds of pamphlets, accounts of voyages, treaties, and diſcuſſions on theſe two countries, ſcarcely have we tranſlations of what appears in that iſland; not only of what is moſt inſtructive, but of that which is moſt amuſing and romantic.

From whence comes this difference? I could aſſign many cauſes for it; I will confine myſelf to the following ones:—The theoretical ſcience of commerce is really at its perfection in England; the practical*, really

ſtood, which perhaps not ten perſons in France know exactly: a proſecution which may furniſh government with the moſt important facts, if it ſtill preſerves any pretenſions to the commerce of India.

* Men the moſt diſtinguiſhed by their birth and riches, put for ſeveral years ſome of their children into a kind of apprenticeſhip in good commercial houſes; and this is where moſt of thoſe who have diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the miniſtry have begun.

really eſteemed, and the liberty of the preſs permits minds to be enlightened by a reaſonable diſcuſſion, wherein truth is reſpected above all things.

In France, I ſay it with pain, the ſcience of commerce is almoſt unknown, becauſe its practice is diſhonoured by prejudice; which prevents the gentry from thinking of it. This prejudice, which is improperly thought indeſtructible, becauſe the nobility or gentry are improperly thought one of the neceſſary elements of a monarchial conſtitution; this would alone be capable of preventing French commerce from having activity, energy and dignity, were it not to be hoped, that ſound philoſophy, in deſtroying it inſenſibly, would bring men to the great idea of eſtimating individuals by their talents, and not by their birth: without this idea there can be no great national commerce, but ariſtocratical men will abound; that is, men, incapable of conceiving any elevated view; and men contemptible, not in a ſtate to produce them.

Finally, another prejudice, quite as abſurd, which has been combated a thouſand times, and is always predominant in France,

France, withholds from the eyes of the public precious memoirs, and intereſting diſcuſſions, which would inform it of its intereſts.

Who is ignorant that it is to the freedom of debate and public diſcuſſion, that England owes the ſingular proſperity which, till lately, has followed her every where, in commerce, in arts, in manufactures, as well abroad as at home; a proſperity which ſhe will again enjoy in ſpite of the faults of her miniſters; for none but theſe have ever endangered it: and it is the freedom of debate which has conſtantly ſaved it from ruin. Who doubts that this liberty would not produce as happy effects in France;—that it would not deſtroy falſe appearances;—that it would not prevent the deſtructive enterprizes of perſonal intereſt;—that it would not alarm miſchievous indulgence, or the coalition of people in place with the enemies of the public welfare? Government ſeems at preſent to do homage to this influence of the freedom of diſcuſſion. At length, it appears to relax of its ſeverity in the laws of the preſs; it has ſuffered ſome ſhackles, which reſtrained diſcuſſion, to be broken,

broken, eſpecially in political matters. But how far are we ſtill from feeling the happy effects of the liberty of the preſs, rather granted to public opinion, than encouraged by a real love of truth.

What have all the attempts of this kind made by the courage of patriotiſm produced? What was produced by that celebrated proceſs, too ſoon forgotten, which terminated the unnatural exiſtence ſo many times wounded, and ſo long a time burthenſome, of the old India Company? A few years are no ſooner elapſed ſince its deſtruction, than another has taken its place; and the faults, the falſe calculations, which at the expence of the nation had frequently brought on the ruin of the firſt, which ought to prevent us from ever having another; theſe faults, theſe falſe calculations, have only ſerved to furniſh ſpecious pretexts to the conſtructors of the new one,—to enrich themſelves more ſurely, to the detriment of the kingdom. They have found the ſecret to ſhake off all at once,—all the ties,—all the conditions of the ancient one,—and to obtain privileges and conceſſions, which it had by virtue of theſe ties and conditions: and

and ſuch was the art with which Government was ſurpriſed, that the authors of this enterpriſe appeared to accept with repugnance the privileges with which they were loaded, at the ſame time that they were the objects of their avarice. It ſeemed that the nation was too happy to find a company which was willing to charge itſelf with the monopoly of Indian commerce. And at what a time was this important commerce given up to them againſt all propriety, I will even ſay againſt all juſtice? At a time when liberty made it flouriſh;—at a time when by its own ſtrength it ſenſibly augmented: finally, at a time when its ſucceſſes ſurpaſſed even thoſe of the old company, in its moſt brilliant proſperity. How would the exiſtence of this new company have been as promptly reſolved, if the liberty of the preſs had reigned without obſtacle, and if this project, which was known but by its execution, had been previouſly ſubmitted to public diſcuſſion.

What have the writings, full of luminous truths, of extended views, of patriotic conſiderations, on the Caiſſe d'Eſcompte, on the Bank of St. Charles, and on many other eſtabliſh-

eſtabliſhments, created evidently to encourage the moſt criminal and unlimited ſtock-jobbing, produced?—This ſtockjobbing, which equalling at the preſent moment, in manœuvres, in diſorders and delirium, every thing which marked the fatal time of the ſyſtem of law, predicts to us the ſame conſequences, already ſhews us ſome frightful ones, in the exceſſive encreaſe of the intereſt of money, and in the ruinous accumulation which is made of it in the capital.

By what fatality are energetic diſcourſes of truth ineffectual? This ought to be pointed out; Government itſelf invites us to do it; the abuſes which render information uſeleſs in France, ought to be laid open.

It is becauſe the liberty of thinking and writing on political matters is but of little date.

Becauſe the liberty of the preſs is environed with many diſguſting circumſtances: and that an honeſt man who diſdains libels, but loves frankneſs, is driven from the preſs by all thoſe humiliating formalities, which ſubject the fruit of his meditation and reſearches to a cenſure neceſſarily ignorant.

It

It is becauſe the Cenſor, inſtituted to check the elevation of a generous liberty, thinks to flatter authority, by even exceeding the end propoſed; ſuppreſſes truths, which would frequently have been received; for fear of letting too bold ones eſcape, with which he would have been reproached, multiplies objections, gives birth to fears, magnifies dangers, and thus diſcourages the man of probity, who would have enlightened his fellow citizens; whilſt this Cenſor ſanctions ſcandalous productions, wherein reaſon is ſacrificed to ſarcaſms, and ſevere morality to amiable vices.*

It is becauſe there are but few writers virtuous enough, ſufficiently organiſed, or in

* We may put in the rank of theſe productions which diſhonour the cenſorſhip, the comedy of Figaro, a ſcandalous farce, wherein, under the appearance of defending morality, it is turned into ridicule; and wherein great truths are diſparaged, by the contemptible dialogiſt who preſents them; wherein the end ſeems to have been to parody the greateſt writers of the age, in giving their language to a raſcally valet, and to encourage oppreſſion, in bringing the people to laugh at their degradation, and to applaud themſelves for this mad laughter: finally, in giving, by culpable impoſture, to the whole nation, that character of negligence and levity which belongs but to the capital.

in proper ſituations to combat and ſurmount theſe obſtacles.

Becauſe theſe writers, few in number, have but little influence; abuſes weakly attacked and ſtrongly defended, reſiſt every thing which is oppoſed to them.

Becauſe the neceſſity of getting works printed in foreign preſſes, renders the publication difficult; but few of them eſcape from the hands of greedy hawkers, who monopoliſe the ſale, to ſell at a dearer price, who poſt the myſtery and a falſe rarity to ſell dear for a longer time.

Becauſe theſe books are wanting in the moment when they would excite a happy fermentation, and direct it properly, in giving true principles.

Becauſe they fall but ſucceſſively into the hands of well-informed men, who are but few in number, in the ſearch of new truths.

Becauſe the Journaliſts, who ought to render them a public homage, are obliged, through fear, to keep ſilence.

Becauſe the general maſs, abandoned to the torrent of frivolous literature, loſes the habitude of meditation, and with it the love of profound truths.

Finally,

Finally, becauſe truth is by this fatal concurrence of circumſtances, never ſown in a favourable ſoil, nor in a proper manner; that it is often ſtifled in its birth; and if it ſurvives all adverſe manœuvres, it gathers ſtrength but ſlowly, and with difficulty; conſequently its effects are too circumſcribed for inſtruction to become popular and national.

Let government remove all theſe obſtacles; let it have the courage, or rather the ſound policy, to render to the preſs its liberty, and good works, ſuch as are really uſeful, will have more ſucceſs; from which there will reſult much benefit.

Does it wiſh for an example? I will quote one, which is recent and well known: the law ſuit of the monopoliſing merchants againſt the Coloniſts of the Sugar iſlands. Would not the laſt have, according to cuſtom, been cruſhed, if the diſpute had been carried on in obſcurity? They had the liberty of ſpeech, of writing, and of printing; the public voice was raiſed in their favour, truth was triumphant; and the wiſe miniſter, who had permitted a public diſcuſſion that he might gain information, pronounced for humanity, in pronouncing in their favour.

Let us hope that this example will be followed, that government will more and more perceive the immenſe advantages which reſult from the liberty of the preſs. There is one, which above all others ought to induce it to accelerate this liberty, becauſe it nearly regards the intereſt of the preſent moment: this liberty is a powerful means to eſtabliſh, fortify, and maintain public credit, which is become, more than ever, neceſſary to great nations, ſince they have ſtood in need of loans. As long as the attempts of perſonal intereſt are feared by the obſcurity which covers them, public credit is never firmly eſtabliſhed, nor does it riſe to its true height. It is no longer calculated upon the intrinſic ſtrength of its reſources, but upon the probability, upon the fear of the diſorder, which may either divert them from their real employ, or render them ſterile. The liberty of the preſs keeps perſonal intereſt too much in awe not to fetter its meaſures; and then public credit ſupports itſelf if it be eſtabliſhed, is formed if it be ſtill to be conſtituted, and fortifies itſelf if it has been weakened by errors.

Full of theſe ideas, as well as the love of my country, and ſurmounting the obſtacles to the liberty of printing, I have undertaken to throw ſome light upon our commercial affinities with the United States. This object is of the greateſt importance: the queſtion is, to develope the immenſe advantages which France may reap from the reſolution which ſhe has ſo powerfully favoured, and to indicate the means of extending and conſolidating them.

It appears to me that all the importance of this reſolution has not been perceived; that it has not been ſufficiently conſidered by men of underſtanding. Let it, therefore, be permitted me to conſider it at preſent.

I will not go into a detail of the advantages which the United States muſt reap from the reſolution which aſſures them liberty.* I will not ſpeak of that regeneration of the phyſical and moral man, which muſt be an infallible conſequence of their conſtitutions; of that perfection to which free America, left to its energy, without other

* Doctor Price has treated this matter very forcibly, and with a great love of humanity, in his excellent obſervations.

other bounds but its own faculties, muſt one day carry the arts and ſciences. It enjoys already the right of free debate, and, it cannot be too often repeated, without this debate, perfection, is but a chimera. In truth, almoſt every thing is yet to be done in the United States, but almoſt every thing is there underſtood: the general good is the common end of every individual,—this end cheriſhed, implanted, ſo to ſpeak, by the conſtitution in every heart. With this end, this intelligence, and this liberty, the greateſt miracles muſt be performed.

I will not ſpeak of the advantages which all America muſt one day reap from this reſolution; nor of the impoſſibility that abſurd deſpotiſm ſhould reign for a long time in the neighbourhood of liberty.—I will confine myſelf to the examination of what advantages Europe, and France in particular, may draw from this change.—There are two, which are particularly ſtriking: the firſt, and greateſt of the revolution, at leaſt in the eyes of philoſophy, is that of its ſalutary influence on human knowledge, and on the reform of ſocial prejudices; for this war has occaſioned diſcuſ-

ſions important to public happineſs,—the diſcuſſion of the ſocial compact,—of civil liberty,—of the means which can render a people independent,—of the circumſtances which give ſanction to its inſurrection, and make it legal,—and which give this people a place among the powers of the earth.

What good has not reſulted from the repeated deſcription of the Engliſh conſtitution, and of its effects? What good has not reſulted from the codes of Maſſachuſet's and New York, publiſhed and ſpread every where? And what benefits will they ſtill produce? They will not be wholly taken for a model; but deſpotiſm will pay a greater reſpect either from neceſſity or reaſon, to the rights of men, which are ſo well known and eſtabliſhed. Enlightened by this revolution, the governments of Europe will be inſenſibly obliged to reform their abuſes, and to diminiſh their burdens, in the juſt apprehenſion that their ſubjects, tired of bearing the weight, will take refuge in the aſylum offered to them by the United States.

This revolution favourable to the people, which is preparing in the cabinets of Europe, will be undoubtedly accelerated, by that

that which its commerce will experience, and which we owe to the enfranchiſement of America. The war, which procured it to her, has made known the influence of commerce on power, the neceſſity of public credit, and conſequently of public virtue,* without which it cannot long ſubſiſt: what raiſed the Engliſh to that height of power, from whence, in ſpite of the faults of their Miniſters, Generals, and Negociators, they braved, for ſo many years, the force of the moſt powerful nations? Their commerce, and their credit; which, loaded as they were with an enormous debt, put them in a ſtate to uſe all the efforts which nations, the moſt rich by their ſoil and population, would have done in a like caſe.

Theſe are the advantages which France, the world, and humanity, owe to the American Revolution; and when we conſider them, and add thoſe we are obliged to let remain in obſcurity, we are far from regretting the expences they occaſioned us.

Were any thing to be regretted, ought not it to vaniſh at the appearance of the new

* The regeneration of public virtue, diminiſhes by little and little, the violence of tyranny.

and immenſe commerce which this revolution opens to the French? This is the moſt important point at preſent for us,—that on which we have the leaſt information, which conſequently makes it more neceſſary to gain all we can upon the ſubject; and ſuch is the object of this work.

In what more favourable moment could it appear, when every nation is in a ferment to extend its commerce, ſeeks new information and ſure principles? The mind is inceſſantly recalled in this book to the *nature of things*, the firſt principle of commerce.—At a time when people which an ancient rivality, an antipathy, ſo falſely and unhappily called natural, kept at a diſtance one from the other, are inclined to approach each other, and to extinguiſh in the connections of commerce the fire of diſcord; this work ſhews that theſe rivalities muſt be effaced by the immenſity of the career, which is opened to all.—At a time when all the parts of univerſal policy are enlightened by the flambeau of philoſophy, even in governments, which have hitherto profeſſed to be afraid of it; the author of this work has

has let ſlip no opportunity of attacking falſe notions and abuſes of every kind.

Never was there a moment more favourable for publiſhing uſeful truths. Every nation does not only do homage to commerce, as to the vivifying ſpirit of ſociety; but they employ in the examination of all theſe connections and affinities,—that logic of facts, whoſe uſe characteriſes the end of the preſent century,—that art truly philoſophical, of conſidering objects in their nature, and in their neceſſary conſequences:—never had well-informed men more contempt for thoſe chimerical ſyſtems ſolely founded upon the fancies of pride, upon the little conceptions of vanity, and upon the preſumption of the falſe political ſcience, which has too long balanced the deſtiny of States. Never were ſo many men ſeen united by the ſame deſire of an univerſal peace, and by the conviction of the misfortune and inutility of hateful rivalities. At length it appears, that men perceive that the field of induſtry is infinite; that it is open to every ſtate, whatever may be its abſolute or relative poſitions; that all ſtates may thrive in it, provided that in each of them the ſupport

individual liberty, and the preſervation of property, be the principal end of legiſlation.

This work ſtill concurs with the patriotic views which the Sovereign of France manifeſts at preſent: he meditates important reformations. He directs them towards the happineſs of the people; and conſults the moſt reſpectable members of this people, whom he wiſhes to render happy, upon the means of inſuring the ſucceſs of his good intentions. Therefore could there be a more propitious moment, to offer to the preſent arbitrators of the national proſperity, a work written with deliberation, on the means of eſtabliſhing a new commerce with a new people, who unites to an extenſive ſoil, and proper to nouriſh an immenſe population, laws which are the moſt favourable to its rapid encreaſe?

At firſt I had alone undertaken this work, depending on my own ſtrength and laborious reſearches: I had collected all the facts, —all the books,—all the proofs which could be certain guides to my ſteps; but I ſoon perceived the impoſſibility of raiſing upon objects of commerce a ſolid and uſeful theory,

theory, if it were not directed by the ſkill which practice only can give, and poſſeſſed by a man whoſe judgment had been long exerciſed by reflection, and whoſe decided love of truth and the public welfare, had accuſtomed to generaliſe his ideas. I found this man, this co-operator, of whoſe aſſiſtance I ſtood in need, in a republican; to whom I am united by a ſimilarity of ideas, as well as by the moſt tender attachment. I have permiſſion to name him,—he conſents to it: I have conquered his modeſty, by the conſideration of his intereſt, and of the law which the particular circumſtances of his ſituation impoſes on him: I have perſuaded him, that the beſt means of deſtroying calumny was to make known his principles and opinions on public matters. It is M. Claviere, a Geneveſe, exiled without any form from his country, by the military ariſtocracy; which has ſubſtituted its illegal and deſtructive regimen to the reaſonable and legitimate influence of a people, diſtinguiſhed by their natural good underſtanding, their knowledge, and their more ſimple manners. What was his crime? That of having defended the rights of theſe people, with a firm-

a firmneſs and ability, which the implacable hatred of his enemies atteſt! This part does too much honour to my friend, not to confine myſelf to deſcribe him in this character, the only one which has ever been productive of public good.

M. Claviere has, during his abode in France, given proofs of his knowledge in the philoſophical and political part of commerce. It is to his abode among us that the public is indebted for ſome uſeful works on theſe abſtract matters; works, as remarkable for the ſolidity of principle and truth of diſcuſſion, as for the clearneſs and preciſion of ideas; works, whoſe ſucceſs proves that minds may be led to the contemplation of theſe matters, by ſubſtituting an exact and clear analyſis, to the metaphyſical and obſcure jargon, which reſtrained them from it.

Finally, the preſent work, will prove at once, the extent of his knowledge, and that of the ſincere philanthropy which animates him, even for the good of a country, where a man leſs generous, would ſee nothing, perhaps, but the origin and cauſe of his misfortunes. Oh! how happy am I, to have it in my power to defend my friend againſt cowardly

cowardly caluminators, in putting him under the ſafe-guard of his own talents and virtues? And is it not a ſacred duty for me, as the calumny is public, to publiſh the part he has taken in this work, wherein it is impoſſible not to diſcover the honeſt man, in the man enlightened? The friend of mankind in the propagation of the wiſeſt maxims? In the thinking philoſopher, accuſtomed to a ſevere logic, to purſue the intereſts of public good, whenever the light of truth can clear up ſome of its aſpects? This is not a vague eulogium; people will be convinced of it in reading the two chapters which concern the principles of commerce; a great number of notes in which he has had a part, and eſpecially the article of tobacco, which is entirely his own. In general, he will be known in thoſe new conſiderations which the commercial man of reflection only can ſuggeſt to the philoſophical politician.

The ſame motive has guided us both in the compoſition and publication of this work. It was the deſire of being uſeful to France, to Free America, to Humanity; for nothing which paſſes in the United States, neither ought to, nor can in future, be indifferent

ferent to humanity. America has revenged it by her revolution: ſhe ought to enlighten it by her legiſlation, and become a perpetual leſſon to all governments, as a conſolation to individuals.

It remains to me now to ſpeak of the ſources to which we have had recourſe, in the order of this work, &c. &c.

We have joined the information of intelligent perſons, whoſe abode in America has given them an opportunity of gaining information, to that with which the public papers, the acts of Congreſs, of different legiſlatures, and the different works publiſhed in the United States have furniſhed us. Therefore credit may be given to all the facts which we advance.

In aſſociating our ideas, we have ſtriven to give them an uniformity: we have, above every thing, endeavoured to expreſs them with that clearneſs, which is ſo difficult to introduce into matters of commerce and finance. The poverty of our language, and the ſingularity of new circumſtances which we had to deſcribe, has ſometimes led us to what is called neology. We muſt create what we have not, and of which we ſtand

in

in need, without giving ourſelves any trouble about thoſe grammarians, but triflingly philoſophical, whom Cicero deſcribes thus in his time: *Controverſies about words torment theſe little Greeks, more deſirous of contention than of truth.**

We have carefully avoided certain words much uſed in vulgar politics, and which give and perpetuate falſe ideas and deceitful ſyſtems. Such are theſe expreſſions; *powers fill the firſt character, have the firſt rank*, the balance of *trade*, *the political balance of Europe*, &c. Theſe words which ſtir up hatred and jealouſy, are only proper to feed petulant ambition, and, if I may uſe the expreſſion, to put the *policy* of *diſturbance* in the place of that happineſs. Miniſters wearied of theſe words and ideas, will attach a greater price to real glory,—that of making the people happy.

Many notes will be found in this work; we thought it neceſſary to give this form to all the ideas, which thrown into the text, might have obſcured the principal one.

A note

* *Verbi controverſiæ torquet Græculos homines contentionis cupidiores quam veritatis.*

A note relaxes the mind, in ſuſpending the chain of the principal thoughts; it excites curioſity, in announcing a new point of view; it forces the reader to a certain degree of attention, in obliging him to attach the note to the text, to reap any advantage from his reading.

We have in theſe notes, indicated, as often as it has been poſſible, the ideas of reform, which may be uſeful to France. We have frequently quoted the Engliſh nation and government. Let not our readers be ſurpriſed at it. It is this nation which has made moſt progreſs in the practice of ſome good principles of political oeconomy. To what nation in Europe can we better compare France? If a rivality ought to exiſt between them, is it not in that which is good? Ought not we from that moment to know all the good meaſures taken in England? Ought people to be diſpleaſed with us for mentioning theſe meaſures? The example of thoſe who have already quoted England has encouraged us. They have naturalized in France, happy inſtitutions, imitated from her rival. Moreover, a commerce founded by the Engliſh, of which

they have in ſome meaſure formed the habitude, and which become common to every nation, muſt be regulated according to the relations which exiſted between England and America, is here in queſtion.

If our criticiſm appears ſometimes roughly expreſſed, our readers will be ſo good as to conſider, that friends to public welfare, can but with difficulty refrain from being moved by the aſpect of certain abuſes, and from ſuffering the ſentiment of indignation which it excites in them to break forth.

Notwithſtanding the numerous precautions we have taken to come at truth; notwithſtanding the extreme attention we have given to this work, errors will undoubtedly be found in ſome of the ſtatements, and perhaps in the reaſonings. Whether they be publicly diſcuſſed, or that we are privately informed of them, we ſhall ſee theſe refutations with pleaſure; we ſhall joyfully receive theſe obſervations, and if they be well founded, we ſhall be eager to retract. This is but a ſimple eſſay on an important ſubject. It may become a good work by the aid of a concourſe of lights.

Before

Before we entered into the examination of the affinities of commerce which ought to unite France and the confederated States of America, it appeared to us indiſpenſably neceſſary to lay down the general principles which ought to direct the exterior commerce of nations; becauſe this matter leaves, by its complication, an eaſy acceſs to error. Few minds having the force or habitude of generaliſing, ſuffer themſelves to be ſeduced by ſeparated or accidental facts, or by falſe maxims ſupported by a great name. The principles we have laid down overturns ſome of them. Thoſe who ſeek after truth ought therefore to meditate them, and not to regret the time which they may give to theſe abſtractions on commerce. It is a thread which will prevent them from going aſtray.

Paris April 1, 1787.

CON-

CONSIDERATIONS, &c.

CHAP. I.

Of Exterior Commerce; the Circumſtances which led to it, and of the Means of aſſuring it to a Nation.

COMMERCE is an exchange of productions, either by barter or by repreſentative ſigns of their value.

Exterior Commerce is that carried on between two or more nations.

It ſuppoſes in them mutual wants, and a ſurplus of productions correſpondent thereto.

Nations, which nature or the force of things invites to a commercial intercourſe, are thoſe which have that correſpondence of wants and ſurplus of productions.

This ſimilarity enables them to trade together, directly or indirectly: a direct Commerce is that

which exiſts between two nations, without the intervention of a third.

Commerce is indirect, when one nation trades with another by means of a third. This is the caſe of ſtates which have no ſea-ports, and yet wiſh to exchange their productions for thoſe of the Indies.

That nation, which having it in its power to carry on a direct Commerce with another, yet makes uſe of an intermediate one, is neceſſarily obliged to divide its profits. However, this diſadvantage may ſometimes be compenſated by other conſiderations.

Such for inſtance, is the caſe of a nation, which in want of huſbandmen and manufacturers, prefers that ſtrangers ſhould themſelves come in ſearch of its ſuperfluities, and bring in exchange thoſe of others: Its wants of population impoſes this law, and whilſt theſe conſiderations exiſt, it is both morally and phyſically better, that its inhabitants ſhould be employed in cultivation, than become carriers of their own national productions, or of thoſe of others

It is impoſſible that nations, which already have communications with each other, ſhould be ignorant of their mutual productions*. Hence ariſes the deſire

* A Nation, which ſhould conſtantly refuſe a direct Commerce, and at the ſame time give proofs of activity and induſtry within itſelf, would ſooner or later be obliged by the exceſs of its population and continued uſe of its interior productions, to give into an exterior, and

deſire of acquiring them in thoſe where they do not exiſt. Hence direct or indirect Commerce, which is conſequently the inevitable reſult of the ſtate of things.

From the ſame principle, it is the intereſt of each nation to render its exterior Commerce direct as ſoon as poſſible, without doing an injury to its interior trade.

Direct importations, not being ſubject to the expences and commiſſions of agents, procure things at a cheaper rate.

A moderate price is the ſureſt means of obtaining an exterior Commerce, the beſt reaſon for preference and the guarantee of its continuation *.

and direct Commerce, without which its exceſs would re-act upon itſelf in a fatal manner, as well to its tranquillity as to its revenues. This is one of the ſtrongeſt conſiderations which can juſtify exterior Commerce.

* It is vulgarly ſaid that a thing is dear when once it is above the accuſtomed price; and it is eſteemed cheap the moment that price is diminiſhed.

By this it ſeems that the dearneſs of a thing is the compariſon of its ſtated, with its uſual price. The laſt is determined by five principal circumſtances. 1ſt. the coſt of the raw material. 2d. that of the workmanſhip. 3d. the want the conſumer has of the thing. 4th. the means he has of paying for it. 5th. the proportion of its quantity with the demand there is for it. Theſe circumſtances increaſe or diminiſh the profit of the ſeller; ſometimes indeed they may prevent him from gaining at all. Circumſtances, which influence the moſt, are ſcarcity and abundance, expreſſions by which the proportion between the want and the quantity of productions are deſignated.

If there be a ſurplus of them, they are naturally ſold at a low price. Whence it appears, that nations having great quantities of raw

The Country, which can produce and ſell a thing at the cheapeſt rate, is that which unites the favourable advantages of that production, whether it be with reſpect to its quality, manufacture, or its low rate of carriage.

The advantages, which render commodities and raw materials cheap, are a fertile ſoil, eaſy of cultivation, climate favourable to the production, a government which encourages induſtry and facilitates carriage by the conſtruction of public roads and navigable canals: finally, a population not too numerous relative to the extent of country, which offers itſelf to be cultivated*.

The ſame circumſtances are ſtill more favourable to the manufacture of things common, ſim-

raw materials, various manufactures and a numerous population, are more particularly invited to an exterior and continued commerce, becauſe they have it in their power to carry it on upon better terms.

An article may be ſold at a low price and enrich him who furniſhes it; as it may be ſold dear and ruin the ſeller. This depends upon the relation there is between its value and the means of its production. Every nation diſpoſed to exterior Commerce in whatſoever article it may be, ought therefore to conſider two things, the price at which it can afford ſuch an article, and that at which it is ſold by rival nations: if it cannot equal the laſt, it ought to abandon that part of its trade.

* The ſituation of the United States proves the laſt aſſertion, which may at firſt ſight appear paradoxical; things are cheap there, becauſe population is not in proportion to the extent of lands to be cultivated. In a good ſoil, a man may, by his labour, eaſily ſupply the conſumption of ten men, or even more. Theſe ten men may therefore be employed for exterior conſumption.

ple, or little charged with faſhion, if the raw material be a natural production of the country, in plenty, and eaſy to be worked up; becauſe theſe manufactures require but few hands, or are carried on at that leiſure which agriculture affords. Nothing can equal the cheapneſs of this workmanſhip, and in general no induſtry is more lucrative, or better ſupported on eaſy terms, than that which is employed in the intervals of repoſe from cultivation; in that caſe cheapneſs is neither the product nor the ſign of miſery in the manufacturer; it is on the contrary the proof and conſequence of his eaſy circumſtances *.

The moſt neceſſary conditions for manufacturing, at a cheap rate, articles complicated, or extremely fine and perfect, or which require the union of ſeveral kinds of workmanſhip, are a conſtant and aſſiduous application, and a numerous population; one half of which muſt be at a diſtance from the labours of the field, and applied to manufacture alone.

Theſe manufactures ought, according to natural order, to be the productions of an exceſs

* Switzerland and certain parts of Germany offer a ſtriking example of this fact. Merchandiſe is fabricated there, at a lower rate than in any other country of Europe, by means of this employment of leiſure hours, and is capable of being tranſported to diſtant countries, without loſing its original advantage; even acroſs great ſtates, where nature left to her own energy, would be ſtill more favourable to the ſame manufactures.

of population only, which cannot give its induſtry to agriculture or ſimple manufactures; but in general they are the reſult of the gathering together of the poor and wretched, in great cities †.

Theſe manufactures cannot furniſh their productions but with difficulty and uncertainty for exterior commerce, when they are eſtabliſhed and ſupported merely by forced means, ſuch as prohibitions, excluſive privileges &c. by which natural obſtacles, not to be deſtroyed, are pretended to be combated.

† Theſe manufactures are crowded with individuals, who having no property, or hope of conſtant employ in the country, or who are reduced by the allurements of gain and luxury, run into cities and ſoon become obliged to ſell their induſtry at a mean price, proportioned to the number of thoſe who are in want of employ. When cheapneſs of workmanſhip comes from this afflicting concurrence of the want of money in men without employ, it is not a ſign of proſperity. On the contrary, it is the reſult and proof of a bad ſocial organization, of too unequal a diviſion of property, and conſequently of an unjuſt diſtribution of neceſſary employments, which forces induſtry to change, from the fabrication of what is neceſſary and uſeful, to that which is fantaſtic, forced, and pernicious. Hence it follows, that wretchedneſs in any country is in proportion to this cheapneſs of workmanſhip.

It is equally evident from theſe reaſonings, that new and well conſtituted ſtates ought not to deſire manufactures produced by things ſo badly arranged: they ought not to be anxious about them, till the rate of population and exceſs of uſeful labour naturally incline induſtry to apply itſelf to improve and carry them on. Theſe reaſonings againſt low priced workmanſhip do not hinder us from agreeing, that there is a real advantage in the means of exterior commerce; and that in the actual ſtate of things, manufacturing and commercial nations may perhaps be obliged to ſeek for it, although it does not compenſate the interior evil by which it is produced.

Countries

countries exempt from them, prevail in the end, and obtain a preference.

It ſometimes happens, that obſtacles cauſed to manufactures by dearneſs of proviſions, burthenſome impoſts, diſtance from the raw material, and unſkilfulneſs, or ſmall number of hands, are ſurmounted by ingenuity, or the uſe of machines; which make the work of one man equal to that of many, and render a manufacture capable of ſupporting the concurrence of populous countries, where ſuch manœuvres and machines are not made uſe of, or known.

But theſe means are precarious, and ſooner or later give way to a more happy ſituation, where climate, ſoil and government, eſpecially, concur in favouring without effort, all the activity and induſtry of which men are ſuſceptible *.

Thus, in the final analyſis, the power of furniſhing at a low price belongs inconteſtably to countries ſo favoured, and they will obtain in all markets a ſure preference to thoſe to which nature has been leſs kind, let their induſtry be ever ſo great, becauſe the ſame induſtry may always be added to natural advantages.

Exterior Commerce, more than any other, is intimidated by ſhackles, cuſtoms, viſits, chicaneries

* *Favouring*, in political œconomy, ſignifies for the moſt part, not to ſhackle induſtry with too many regulations; however favourable certain of theſe may be, they reſtrain it in ſome reſpect or other. It is never more encouraged than when left to itſelf.

and proceſſes; by the manner of deciding them, and the ſolicitations and delays, they bring on.

The ſtate which would favour ſuch a commerce ſhould, in the firſt place, deſtroy all theſe obſtacles. It is more to its intereſt ſo to do, as from exterior Commerce reſults an augmentation of the national revenue.

All things equal, relative to the price of merchandiſe, and to the facilities with which direct exterior Commerce can be carried on, it is more readily eſtabliſhed between two nations which have a ſimilarity of political and religious principles, * manners, cuſtoms, and eſpecially of language: theſe deciſive means of connection cannot be combated but by evident advantages from which there reſults leſs expence and more profit. Commercial people generally place profit at the head of every thing.

Nations not having theſe affinities between them, ought, in order to compenſate for their deficiency, to give great encouragements, and tolerate to the ut

* Religious conſiderations had formerly a conſiderable influence on civiliſed men, and on commerce. The Catholic fled from the Proteſtant, the Puritan ſuſpected the Quaker. A reciprocal hatred reigned between the ſects. To day, mankind being more enlightened, all ſects connected by commerce, and experience having ſhewn that probity has almoſt always been independent of religion, it is no more required to know whether a man goes to the Temple, or to confeſſion—It is aſked if he fulfills his engagements with honour. Yet this relation muſt ſtill be counted among commercial connections.

moſt

moſt degree the religious and political opinions of ſtrangers, as well as their manners and cuſtoms.

To obtain the preference in exterior Commerce, neither treaties, regulations nor force muſt be depended upon. Force has but a momentary effect. It deſtroys that even which it means to protect. Treaties and regulations are uſeleſs, if the intereſts of two nations do not invite them to a mutual intercourſe. They are ineffectual, if that attraction does not exiſt. Treaties, regulations, force, all yield to the impulſe or nature of things *.

This force of things in commerce, is but the reſult of the circumſtances in which two nations are, which attract one towards the other, and oblige

* *Force of things.* The political law which governs all, in politics, as in phyſics. There is a general force whoſe action is manifeſt, which, in ſpite of wars, treaties, and the manœuvres of cabinets, governs all events, and carries away men and nations in its courſe. It is this force of things which overturned the Roman empire, when it ſtood upon a baſis diſproportioned to its maſs; which in the 14th century took from the Engliſh one half of France, and in the 18th, has taken from them half of the new world;—which delivered Holland from the yoke of Spain, and Sweden from that of Denmark. It is this force which deſtroyed the projects of ſuch conquerors as Charlemagne Gengis and Nadir. They ran from place to place; they deſtroyed mankind to build empires. Theſe empires died with them. This force acts upon commerce as upon revolutions. It is that which, by the diſcovery of the Cape of Good Hope, bereaved the Venetians of their trade to the Indies, and made it paſs over ſucceſſively to the Portugueſe, the Dutch, the Engliſh and the French. Finally, it is the force of things which will decide the great queſtion of the commerce of America.

them

them to enter into an alliance, rather than with any other nation. Theſe terminate in their mutual intereſt: it is therefore neceſſary, in order to create a perpetual commerce between two countries, to give each of them a preponderating intereſt ſo to do.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Of exterior Commerce, conſidered in its Means of Exchange, and its Balance.

WE are deceived in believing that commerce, cannot be eſtabliſhed between two nations without gold or ſilver to balance their accounts. It will be intereſting to enter into ſome detail on this head, on account of the deficiency of coin in the United States, and the neceſſity of reducing themſelves to the commerce of exchange, being the two principal objections ignorantly brought againſt a trade with them*.

It

* The ſcarcity of money in the united ſtates of America, has been greatly exaggerated in France. It muſt be ſcarce in all new ſtates, where nothing ſhackles induſtry, where ſo many things are to be created, and where, in every quarter, there are ſuch quantities of lands to be cleared. In order that money ſhould be plenty in this ſtate of creation, mines would be neceſſary; and at the ſame time a want of hands and induſtry clogg d with impediments, circumſtances much more unfavourable to foreign commerce, than the ſcarcity of money in an active and induſtrious country. One fact ſeems to prove to us, that in independent America, money is found in the moſt deſirable proportion to population, at leaſt by taking Europe for the term of compariſon. Contracts eſteemed good, and of which the intereſt

It has been frequently aſſerted that the balance will be againſt them; that they can only offer an exchange of merchandiſe. It is therefore neceſſary to prove that this great word, balance, is inſignificant; that a great commerce may be carried on without money, and that one of exchange is the moſt advantageous of any.

When a nation pays, with money, the whole, or the balance of its importations, it is ſaid the balance of trade is againſt it, by which a diſadvantageous ideas of its poſition is meant to be given. This is a prejudice eaſy to be overturned, although entertained by men celebrated for their knowledge.

In effect, whence comes to this country the gold it pays? It is either from its mines, and in that caſe it pays with one of its own productions; or it owes it to artificers who exerciſe their functions in a foreign country, and even then it pays with a production which originates within its dominions. As long as a nation pays another, directly or indirectly with its own productions, its poſition cannot be diſadvantageous. Therefore the unfavourable word balance, thus attached to the balance of

intereſt is regularly paid, are ſold there at the rate of ſix per cent per Annum. Yet the cleaning of lands muſt produce a much greater benefit; why then is not all the money ſwallowed up? why remains there enough of it to fulfill theſe contracts, which produce no more than five or ſix per cent. Is it not becauſe money is not ſo ſcarce there as people in France imagine? Where the actual ſtate of the Americans is confounded with the diſtreſs, in which they were, when they combated for their liberty.

an account paid in money, offers no exact and nice idea of the favourable or unfavourable ſtate of a nation.

Gold is alſo a merchandiſe, and it may be convenient to one nation according to its relations or connections with another, to pay with money, without its having, for that reaſon, an unfavourable balance againſt it.

There is but one caſe wherein the balance againſt a nation can be declared; it is, that when having exhauſted its money and treaſures, it remains debtor to another nation. But things could not remain long in this ſtate; ſo wretched a ſoil, unequal to the conſumption and exchange of its inhabitants, would ſoon be abandoned; this, however, cannot happen. Importation preſently becomes in proportion to exportation; an equilibrium is eſtabliſhed, and the pretended unfavourable balance has not duration enough to give a right of ſuppoſing even its exiſtence.

There is as little truth and juſtice in ſaying a nation has the balance of trade in its favour, when it receives in money balances due to it upon the amount of its exportations. This balance, exiſting for a certain time, would heap up ſpecie in the country, and at length render it very miſerable. This has never been the caſe, yet it would have happened if this ſyſtem had the leaſt foundation.

The circulation of money depends on two many cauſes to deduce from its abundance a certain ſign

of

of a favourable commercial balance, a thouſand combinations and events which have no relation to that balance, draw money from abroad or ſend it there; and in the general, continued and various motions of commerce, the tables of exportation and importation, according to which the ſign of a favourable or unfavourable balance is regulated, are too uncertain and defective for the purpoſe, as well as for forming a judgment of the quantities of coin or riches of a Nation *.

Let

* I will give a ſtriking example of the deficiency of theſe calculations, of the eſtimation of a balance of trade and of the quantity of money. This example will prove that political calculators neglect, or are ignorant of foreign events which overturn their calculations.

M. Neckar wiſhed to inform himſelf (Chap. IX. Vol. 3d, Treaty of Adminiſtration of Finance) what was the ſum brought to and preſerved in Europe from 1763 to 1777. He eſtimates it at one thouſand eight hundred and fifty millions of livres, according to the regiſter of Liſbon and Cadiz, comprehending that even which entered by contraband, and he values at 300 millions of livres, that which went out of Europe during the ſame interval.

It will only be neceſſary to quote two or three authenticated facts, to prove the inſufficiency of this calculation founded upon the regiſters of Cuſtom-houſes.

In ſtating the ſum of money entered into Europe, it does not appear that M. Neckar takes account of the gold and ſilver, which the conqueſt and poſſeſſion of Bengal by the Engliſh, and their eſtabliſhments in the Eaſt Indies, have cauſed to paſs into this quarter of the world. But according to the calculation of the ſecret committee appointed by the Parliament of England, to examine the ſtate of Engliſh poſſeſſions in India, the ſums drawn from Bengal from 1757

to

Let the tables for comparing the exportation and importation of raw materials, and of manufactured articles be encreaſed to what degree they may; let the greateſt care and fidelity be employed to render them

to 1771 amount to 751,500,000 livres[b]. To what will it amount, if there be added to it thoſe drawn from the Carnatic and from Oude, of which the Nabobs have the ſhadow only of the property, from the revenue of the northern Circars, from the theft committed on the Emperor of Mogul, from 1771 to the preſent day, of his twenty ſix millions, from the perpetual increaſe of territories and revenues, from the ſale made in 1773 of the Rohillas to the Nabob of Oude, which produced to the Engliſh upwards of fifty millions.[c]

Finally, what will be the amount, if there be added to it the enormous ſums exported from the Indies by individuals, who have there enriched themſelves? The fortune of Lord Clive was beyond calculation, that of Mr. Haſtings, againſt whom a proſecution is now carrying on, is calculated at thirty or forty millions. Another Governor has, according to ſeveral well founded reports, recently paid upwards of two millions of livres to ſilence his accuſers. It is true that a part of theſe immenſe riches have been employed to defray the expences incurred by the Engliſh in guarding their poſſeſſions in India; that a more conſiderable one has been ſent into Europe under the form of merchandiſe; but it cannot be denied that a third part has been brought in gold and ſilver to our Continent. What is the amount of it? This is impoſſible to ſtate. But whatever it may be, it renders the calculation of Mr Neckar doubtful.——Let the inexhauſtible riches of the Indies be judged of by one fact, and conſequently the immenſe ſource from which the Europeans have drawn them, and by another conſequence, the money which muſt have come into Europe. Nadir Schah who conquered Delly in 1740, took from India

[b] The detail of this calculation is given in The Deſcription of the Indies Vol. I. page 249. It is neceſſary to take notice here of an error crept into that work, which is, that the ſum total is there given in pounds ſterling, inſtead of livres tournois.

[c] See Mackintoſh's Voyage to the Eaſt Indies Vol. I. page 340.

them perfect, the reſult will never be more certain or deciſive; for as long as prohibitory laws, which are always accompanied by illicit commerce, ſhall exiſt, it will be impoſſible to know and ſtate exactly what comes in and goes out; * and if there be a country where

India about forty millions Sterling [d]. This money was circulated in Perſia, and as that unhappy ſtate, is torn by deſpotiſm and continual wars, [e] produces but little, manufactures nothing, and is conſequently debtor to exterior Commerce, which comes almoſt entirely into Europe, it follows that two thirds of the ſums ſtolen from India by the freebooter Nadir, have paſſed over to the ſame quarter. Theſe events, unnoticed by political calculators, have certainly had great and univerſal influence upon the fluctuation and circulation of money. That which makes it ſuppoſed that no metals come from India, is the opinion that their importation is diſadvantageous. But have the freebooters who have pillaged that country for the laſt thirty years, calculated this diſadvantage? They ſtrive to ſecure their thefts and do not ſpeculate like merchants: bulky merchandiſe would betray them.

With reſpect to the ſtated ſums of money which paſs from Europe to India, there is the ſame defect in the calculations of Mr. Neckar. He takes no notice of the events which obliged the Engliſh to remit conſiderable ſums to India: for inſtance, the two wars againſt the Marrattas were prodigiouſly expenſive, that againſt Hyder Ally in 1769 was not leſs ſo. A ſingle conflagration at Calcutta coſt nearly twenty four millions of livres, which it was neceſſary to replace, yet theſe ſums are far from balancing thoſe which are exported from India.

* This is a ſtrong objection made by the adverſaries of Lord Sheffield, to which his Lordſhip has but weakly replied.

Nothing can be more impoſing than the tables of importation and exportation, and of the balance of trade in Great Britain, publiſhed by Sir

[d] See Mackintoſh's Voyages, Vol. I. page 341.

[e] See Mr. Capper's Voyage, at the end of that of Mackintoſh, Vol. II. page 454.

where no ſuch laws exiſt, * are exact regiſters of the exports and imports to be found in it? And if they were, would it not be a conſtraint which, the private intereſts of merchants would frequently oblige them to avoid?

Moreover does it appear that, in theſe general balances, which are ſuppoſed to be paid in money, notice is taken of the operation of bankers, foreign government, and thoſe who go abroad, in exporting the public ſpecie. † Knowledge is deceitful which is acquired from ſuch conſequences.

Sir Charles Whitworth. Yet ſee with what facility the Count de Mirabeau reduces to twenty millions of livres tournois, the ninety millions which Sir Charles Whitworth eſtimates to be the annual balance of Engliſh Commerce; and truſt after this to Cuſtom-houſe calculations. See page 371. Conſiderations on the Order of Cincinatus.—*London Edit.*

* Such a country does exiſt. There are many States among the new Republics of America, which regiſter veſſels as they enter, becauſe, duties are paid on importation; but there are none on exportation.

† It is very probable there are a number of particular cauſes which inſenſibly diminiſh the quantity of coin in thoſe nations which have the balance of trade conſtantly in their favour. Were no ſuch cauſes to exiſt, the conſequence will be that ſuch nations would be obliged to bury their gold and ſilver in the earth, to prevent its falling into diſuſe; yet neither of theſe caſes happen. Therefore money neceſſarily paſſes from ſuch Countries to others.

M. Caſaux has proved this to be true, with reſpect to England, in his Conſiderations upon *the Mechaniſm of Society*. He there explains, that if the calculations of Sir Charles Whitworth be true, England ought to poſſeſs at this moment about four hundred thouſand millions of livres in gold and ſilver, as the ſole balance of her commerce

But how appreciate—how eſtimate the encreaſe of the riches and commerce of a nation?—By its population. If this ſenſibly augments, if eaſe and the conveniencies of life become more general, if the cauſes of indigence in an increaſing people be ſeen to diminiſh, or are confined to inability to to work, occaſioned by accidental illneſſes, it is evident, that the revenues of that nation exceed its expences, and that the balance of trade is in its favour; for if the value of its exportation were inferior to that of its importation, a conſiderable debt and impoveriſhment would ſoon be the conſequences: and impoveriſhment falls immediately upon population. It is therefore by rational and well compoſed tables upon this ſubject only, that a miniſter of ſound judgment, profound and extended in his plans, will be prevailed upon to govern himſelf. It is by them he will judge of the encreaſe

commerce from 1700 to 1775. Yet it is certain that ſhe is far from having that enormous ſum. She has not even a ſum in proportion to her population and contingencies. She ſupplies that deficiency by an immenſe circulation of her bank-paper.

The ſimilarity of ſome ideas contained in this work upon the balance of trade, with thoſe of M. Caſaux, obliges us to declare, that his work publiſhed in London in 1785, and but little diſtributed in France, came not to our hands before ours was finiſhed and half printed. A particular circumſtance has given us occaſion to quote it, which we do do with pleaſure, to do juſtice to the labours of this political writer, who perhaps, wants nothing but clearneſs and notoriety, to be eſteemed as he ought to be. We are nevertheleſs far from adopting ſome of his opinions which appear to us erroneous, ſuch as thoſe upon loans, reimburſements &c.

and

and advantages of exterior commerce, as well as of national riches.

He will be very cautious of decorating with this title the amaſſing of gold and ſilver, and equally ſo of making it the token of riches, or of judging of their extent by the quantity of theſe metals. All ſuch ideas are ſordid, dangerous, and falſe; ſordid, becauſe they attach to this ſign the repreſentation of productions, and conſequently the extenſion of commerce; dangerous, becauſe they accuſtom men to look upon gold as real riches, to neglect the thing for its ſhadow, * and make

 them

* Could gold and ſilver be preſerved from adulteration, and the attempts of tyranny and ignorance, they would have a much better title to be conſidered as real riches. Gold being an univerſal agent, he who poſſeſſes it may emigrate to wherever he pleaſes, and take his gold with him. This metal is therefore every thing, with nations unhappy enough to make arbitrary exceptions to general maxims, upon which public credit is founded. But how dearly do they pay for their ignorance of the advantages of public credit! How dearly do governments themſelves pay for their errors and outrages? All their meaſures are forced—nature is liberal in vain; inceſſantly employed in repairing evils which continually preſent themſelves, ſhe has not time enough allowed her to add to our happineſs. When it was ſaid that money had no particular country, governments were emphatically told, that it was neceſſary to do without great quantities of it: it will never be rejected till the ineſtimable advantages reſulting from a reſpect for public credit ſhall be properly known. The leſs individuals love and heap up money, the richer, more enlightened, and better governed will a nation be. To be attached to money, to hoard it up, is a ſign of an alarming criſis, of a deficiency of judgment and faith in adminiſtration; from whence comes the proof of what has been ſaid in the text, that 'a writer who

them ſtrangers to their country; falſe, becauſe that diſplay of figures announces the quantity only of money which continually diſappears; and which, when carried to a certain degree, is of no farther conſideration.*

Enquiries on the quantity of coin, are like thoſe on the balance of trade. To eſtabliſh both one and the other with ſome degree of certainty it is neceſſary to aſſemble notions and details, of which the elementary principles vaniſh, or inceſſantly vary. †

The

who extols gold as a ſign of riches, and recommends it to his fellow citizens, is deceived, or has a bad idea of their ſituation.' In the laſt caſe he would do much better, if inſtead of preaching this pernicious doctrine, he encouraged government to give an immovable ſtability to national credit.

* It has not yet been remarked, that thouſands of millions is a vague expreſſion, and does not furniſh a compleat idea. The imagination cannot exactly conceive for ſuch a ſum, an employ which would ſerve as the meaſure of its power and effect. It is known what could be done with twenty or an hundred millions of men, but it is not known what could be effected with an hundred thouſand millions of crowns; yet they are heaped upon paper to give an idea of power.

† In general, the maſs of gold or ſilver is divided into three principal parts.—The firſt under the form of money, ſerves for daily and unavoidable expences. Each individual, as ſoon as he is charged with the ſupport of himſelf and family, muſt have at leaſt ſome pieces of money for daily exigencies, and the payment of impoſts. To this muſt be added, that ſum which is reſerved for caſualties.—This cuſtom is more or leſs obſerved in all countries, in proportion to the probability of diſaſterous events. It is impoſſible to calculate this

The proceedings in the adminiſtration of finances are more uſeful and certain; by laying aſide the pomp of falſe riches, and by conſidering gold and ſilver in a point of view relative to their particular properties. They ſupply our wants as means of exchange only; they are notes to the bearer, which having every where the ſame value, are every where nogociable. Thus they are ambulatory; they paſs, repaſs, are accumulated or diſperſed like the waves of the ſea, continually agitated by ſucceſſive winds blowing from every point of the compaſs. To undertake to make them ſtationary, would be ſtriv-

 ing

this firſt part—It is however evident, that it ought to be in proportion to the population, and to encreaſe with it; and that a decreaſe of population would ſoon take place, were many individuals totally deprived of a pecuniary contingency, ſufficient to procure them ſuch neceſſaries as cannot be diſpenſed with, and which they neither make nor receive themſelves. It appears alſo, that this part of the coin remains in the country, by reaſon of its continued application in little ſums to daily wants, and of the abſolute ſtagnation of that which is laid up in reſerve.

The ſecond part is deſtined under the ſame form, to the great operations of commerce. It is equally impoſſible to fix its quantity, on account of an infinity of combinations which continually change and cauſe theſe metals to paſs from one country to another. Daily charges, cuſtoms, &c. retain a part; but theſe objects belong equally to our firſt diviſion.

The third part contains uncoined gold and ſilver, under whatever form they may have: it is like the ſecond, ſubject to numbers of continual variations, which leave no ſatisfactory means of determining its quantity.

To pretend to aſcertain the quantity in the maſs, by payments of uncertain commercial balances, and by the addition of ſpecie produced

ing to change their nature, to deprive them of that property from which they derive their value: this ridiculous enterprize is, notwithſtanding, a conſequence of the ſyſtem which cauſes them to be looked upon as real treaſures. Their diſappearance is dreaded, and yet their circulation is clogged, and the mind loſes ſight of the uſe of the moſt ſimple and univerſal means of creating real riches, without which, metals would be uſeleſs, and conſequently of no value.

On the contrary, diſdaining vulgar opinions, and ſeeing nothing in gold and ſilver but the means of exchange, but proper agents to facilitate it; the

duced from mints ſince a new coinage has taken place, is not a more certain means; becauſe, it would be equally neceſſary to obſerve the continual action of commerce upon theſe metals, under all their forms, and of the combinations it produces, which ſucceſſively ariſe from one another. In thus eſtimating money it is forgotten, that it is an univerſal agent, which by that character alone, muſt neceſſarily change its ſituation perpetually; ſince commerce has produced an affinity among men, by wants, which they have created to themſelves, of their reciprocal productions. It is equally unobſerved, that different circumſtances reduce gold to the ſtate of an ingot; that conſequently the ſame piece may paſs ſeveral times under the die in the courſe of a certain number of years. This is a reflection which N. Necker ſeems not to have made, when he ſtated the money exiſting in France at ſo conſiderable a ſum. It will be known when the recoinage of the old Louis is finiſhed, what we ought to think of his calculations. But the ſum is far ſhort of 957 millions, as eſtimated by that miniſter. It is more than probable that it will never amount to more than two thirds of it.

At this moment, fourteen months after the arret for a new coinage, it amounts to no more than 550 millions, and every thing indicates a rapid decline.

mind,

mind, freed from the fear of the want of them *as riches*, conceives the idea of doing without them *as agents*, at leaſt about man's perſon.* What a vaſt field is this opened to induſtry! Theſe metals are in that caſe reſerved for the beſt uſes, to which nations who obtain them from abroad, can put them to. They are ſent out to ſeek materials for induſtry, new commodities, and eſpecially to encreaſe the number of citizens; of every ſpecies of riches this is the moſt ſure and fruitful. Thus when gold is reduced to its exact value, that its real uſe is known, the advantageous purpoſes to which it is proper, are more juſtly calculated. It is then per-

* It is aſtoniſhing, that among ſo many travellers who have gone over the United States of America, not one of them has given a detail of the manner of exchanging ſeveral neceſſaries of life; they are reciprocally furniſhed in the country with what they are in want of, without the interference of money. The taylor, ſhoe-maker, &c. exerciſe their profeſſions in the houſe of the huſbandman who has occaſion for their commodities, and who, for the moſt part, furniſhes materials, and pays for the workmanſhip in proviſions, &c.— This kind of exchange extends to many objects; each of theſe people write down what they receive and give, and at the end of the year they cloſe an account conſiſting of an infinity of articles, with a very ſmall ſum; this could not be effected in Europe but with a great deal of money. Thus it appears, that an eaſy means of doing without great ſums of money is given to country people by inſtructing them in writing and arithmetic; that conſequently the ſovereign who ſhould eſtabliſh ſchools for the purpoſe of teaching this moſt neceſſary art and ſcience, would create a conſiderable means of circulation without the uſe of coin, and that this expence, which ſeems to alarm ſo many governments, is in fact, one of the moſt lucrative ſpeculations which the treaſury could make.

ceived that paper credit may have the ſame properties as gold itſelf; and to ſucceed in giving them to it, nothing more is neceſſary than to preſerve the moſt inviolable reſpect for the principles which ſupport public confidence; for upon what baſis reſts the value and general uſe of money, if it be not upon the certitude that it will be received every where in payment for things which men's wants may require, becauſe of its conventional value? why ſhould a paper which preſents the ſame conventional value, the ſame certitude and ſolidity be refuſed in payment? I will add more—A more ſolid baſis than gold and ſilver has, may be given to paper money:* for we have no guarantee that the value of theſe metals will not be all at once diminiſhed by the diſcovery of new and rich mines; we cannot calculate their quantities concealed in the earth, and men inceſſantly rake up its bowels in ſearch of them.† Therefore in countries where precious metals are ſcarce, but where lands may be ſucceſs-

* I ſay, paper money, without attaching to this expreſſion the idea of conſtraint to receive it as ſuch; this obligation diminiſhes its value—I would ſay paper credit, if the word credit did not ſeem to exclude its principal quality, that of being always ſuſceptible, and in an inſtant, of being converted into money without the leaſt loſs.

† Why ſhould not diſcoveries be made in other countries like that in the laſt century by two Shepherds in Norway, of the rich mines of Konſberg, where very conſiderable maſſes of ſilver are found? The King of Denmark has one of 560l. weight in his cabinet.

fully

fully cultivated, banks ſhould be formed, whoſe operations ſhould chiefly reſt upon title deeds and productions depoſited; in a word, upon ſuch objects only as gold and ſilver ſhould repreſent.*

In countries where theſe metals are already in circulation, but are ſtill foreign productions, eaſy and certain means ſhould be ſought after to render exchanges leſs dependent on the ſecurity or abundance of ſpecie. Paper credit ſhould be naturalized there, becauſe its infalliable effect is to double or treble the quantity of current coin, and even to replace it entirely, where, as in England public confidence has never received a wound. Theſe

* It is not true that much gold and ſilver are neceſſary to eſtabliſh banks, or create notes which may be thrown into circulation. A proof of the contrary ariſes from facts continually before our eyes. The multitude of bills of exchange which circulate and croſs each other in every direction, have not all of them, for origin and ſecurity, a depoſit of gold and ſilver. Neither are they all paid when due with theſe metals? Commerce produces an abundance of ſuch papers, which falling due on the ſame day are diſcharged by each other without the intervention of ſpecie; eſpecially in cities where public banks are eſtabliſhed to facilitate this kind of payment. Theſe are called transfers, and the principal object of Caiſſes d'Eſcomptes and banks is to facilitate them by the payment of bills fallen due by thoſe which have ſtill ſome time to run. In fine, theſe Caiſſes d'Eſcomptes and banks, are themſelves cauſes and ſtriking proofs of the little difficulty there is in ſupplying; by confidence, the places of gold and ſilver. Firſt eſtabliſhed by depoſits in ſpecie, they ſoon circulate their notes for ſums more conſiderable than thoſe depoſited; and what ſurety is there for the payment of ſuch notes if it be not by other bills not due, which the Caiſſes and banks receive in exchange for their own notes payable at ſight, to which public confidence give the ſame value as to gold and ſilver.

obſer-

obſervations might be more extended if a treattiſe on the nature of banks and Caiſſes d'Eſcompte were in queſtion. But this is not my preſent object; I have conſidered exterior commerce in its means of exchange only, like metals and paper credit, and in its balance for the purpoſe of applying theſe principles to the relations and commerce of France and the United States: and more eſpecially to clear up ſome difficulties to the French, who ſeem to have a bad opinion of this commercial intercourſe, on account of the want of money in America, and to encourage the independent Americans, who ſeem to dread the pretended inconveniencies ariſing from its deficiency.

I think I have proved:

1ſt. That the balance of trade is but an inſignificant word: that the balance paid in ſpecie is no proof of a diſadvantageous commerce on the part of the nation which pays it, nor advantageous to the nation which receives it.*

2d. That

* Obſerve what a reſpectable author, well verſed in the matter, and whom we ſhall hereafter have occaſion to quote, thinks of it.

" Theſe commercial balances, calculated in different ſtates are pitiful; when I ſee conſequences drawn from ridiculous and laboured official accounts, *mi fanno dal riſo crepare.*

" To conſider France and England only, the two principal manufacturing countries, and the moſt commercial ones in the world, what omiſſions, negligences, double employs, errors, corruptions, nocturnal expeditions, duties evaded and contraband trade. The prodigious quantity of wool which is ſent from England is certainly not regiſtered, no more than the ſilks, gold laces, gauzes, blondes, cam-

2d. That the tables of that commercial balance deſerve no faith, and that the only method of eſtimating the encreaſe of trade, is by the encreaſe of population.*

3d. That it is impoſſible to judge exactly of the quantity of money exiſting in a country, and that all calculations on that head are founded upon an uncertain and defective baſis, becauſe it is impoſſible to collect all their elementary principles.

4. That metals are not real riches.

5. That conſidered as agents of exchange, it would be more advantageous to ſubſtitute paper credit in interior commerce, and to apply them to

cambrics, brandies, and many other articles which are fraudently introduced there. The ſame in France, no account can be taken of the immenſe quantities of drapery, hoſiery and ſmall hard ware, which the Engliſh ſend in exchange. Voy. en Italie, de M. Roland de la Platiere, tom. 1. page 352.

* The errors in theſe pretended balances muſt be continually inſiſted upon: conſequences dangerous to the people are frequently drawn from them.

Financiers who pillage the kingdom, ſay to Princes on preſenting them theſe fallacious calculations, "that things are in a proſperous way; that commerce flouriſhes, that impoſts may be laid on, loans negotiated, &c. Theſe ſophiſms are ſeducing: let Princes accuſtom themſelves to judge of public proſperity by population, and the general eaſe of the people; let them be eye witneſſes of this, and miſtruſt a momentary appearance of proſperity, which frequently covers profound miſery, and they will not be ſo often deceived.

A King of Sardinia paid a viſit to a part of Savoy, the nobility of which had been repreſented to him as being poor and miſerable, they came to him elegantly dreſſed in cloaths of ceremony, to make him their court, at this the King expreſſed his ſurprize to one of the gentleman who ſaid to him, Sire, *nous faiſons pour votre Majeſté tout ce que nous devons, mais nous devons tout ce que nous faiſons.*

uſes

uſes for which paper is unfit, to wit, all the purpoſes of exterior commerce. There reſults from theſe demonſtrations, that commerce may be begun between two nations without the aid of money; that the quantity a nation has of it to exchange for foreign productions is in proportion to its confidential interior eſtabliſhments, which advantageouſly ſupply its place.

In three words, a good ſoil, paper credit, and a government anxious to ſupport it, are the true means of opening the reſources of a nation, of procuring an abundance of ſpecie, as well as an extenſive exterior commerce.

I have not conſidered this commerce in its influence upon the manners of the people, ſuch a diſcuſſion would here be uſeleſs, becauſe whatever that influence may be, exterior commerce is a forced effect of the reſpective ſituations of France and the United States, as will hereafter be made appear. I examine this matter as a politician, not as a philoſopher, and I pray the reader not to forget the diſtinction.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

APPLICATION OF THE FOREGOING GENERAL PRINCIPLES TO THE RECIPROCAL COMMERCE OF FRANCE AND THE UNITED STATES.

That France has every Means of procuring a great Commerce, and thoſe which muſt aſſure it to her in the United States; that her Productions are proper for them; and that her particular interior Circumſtances oblige her to engage in this Commerce.

THESE truths will not be conteſted, when the fertility of the ſoil of France ſhall be conſidered, her various and particular productions, and the temperature of her climate, which favours thoſe the moſt ſimple and neceſſary.

Theſe advantages conſtantly aſſure her workmanſhip at a lower price than thoſe of nations endowed with the ſame activity, but which have not the advantages of ſuch favourable circumſtances.

Her manufactures are numerous, and her population is conſiderable in compariſon with that of moſt other nations. Yet theſe are far from the

degree to which they may be extended; for in conſidering France, room for a more extenſive population is ſoon diſcovered, and an immenſity of means for a great number of manufactures, which only wait for the will of government to be eſtabliſhed.

What other nation has more activity? more induſtry? or unites to ſo great a degree, all the advantages of civiliſation, and the matter and means of the moſt varied and extenſive interior and exterior commerce, independent of completion? What other would have been able to reſiſt, for ſo long a time, the chain of misfortunes, and repeated faults of which ſhe has been the victim? The force of her conſtitution, rather than her apparent proſperity, ought to be calculated by this reſiſtance. France is not what ſhe might and ought to be. There is no doubt but ſhe will become ſo if ſhe opens her eyes to her true intereſts, if unſhackling her interior ſhe does not neglect exterior Commerce, and particularly that which the United States wiſh to open with her. The productions of her ſoil and induſtry are proper for them. She can export in exchange from independent America the raw materials for which ſhe may have occaſion. Theſe two countries may therefore carry on a *direct* commerce of *exchange* between them, and ſo much the more advantageous, as the raw materials, which muſt conſtitute it, would coſt them more in any other place. Theſe truths will not be doubted when

when the double catalogue of the reſpective wants of France and the United States, or of their importation and exportation, ſhall have been examined.

Intelligent patriots are of opinion that it cannot be advantageous to France, in her preſent ſituation to engage in the commerce of the United States.—They obſerve that, her manufactures being inferior to thoſe of the Engliſh, ſhe will be worſted in the American markets; they add, that inſtead of encouraging this commerce, government would perhaps act more wiſely by preventing the interior abuſes which ſtop the progreſs of cultivation and induſtry.

I am far from denying the neceſſity there may be of ſtirring to reform ſuch abuſes, and to direct our efforts to culture and the improvement of manufactures; but it is eaſy to demonſtrate that exterior commerce will in a very ſhort time infallibly bring on ſuch a reform, and that France in her preſent trade is in the greateſt need of this exterior trade.

In effect, an active and induſtrious nation, whoſe ſoil is fertile, ought always to have markets for the ſale of its commodities to animate its induſtry. Its culture and manufactures would languiſh if the limits of its conſumption were perceived. It is even neceſſary that theſe markets ſhould be ſuperabundant; that one may ſucceed the other, in caſe of unſuſpected events, which might cauſe a momentary change in the ordinary courſe of things.

What

What cauſe has thrown Ireland into ſo continued a ſtate of langour, although one of thoſe countries the moſt favoured by nature, and the beſt ſituated for exterior Commerce, if it is not the deprivation of that commerce? An embarraſſing exuberance of productions was feared; the cultivation of them was preſently neglected, and this negligence encreaſed waſte lands. This Iſland would at length have offered a ſpectacle of the moſt deplorable miſery, of a complete depopulation, if, by a reſtitution of the liberty of commerce, an end had not been put to ſo cruel a diſcouragement which choaked induſtry, by making it fear a want of markets for the vent of its productions.

Let our patriots, therefore, ceaſe to look upon foreign commerce as contrary to the reforms which are to revive our interior trade: to encourage the firſt is not to preſcribe the ſecond, becauſe one cannot ſucceed without the other. But on the contrary, the ſeeds of activity are ſown in the latter, by extending the boundaries of conſumption.

Alas! is not France evidently in need of them? Are not her magazines crowded with a ſuperfluity of the moſt neceſſary productions, for which ſhe has no market? Such as amongſt others, her wines and brandies.* The United States offer to her an

* Such is the ſituation of Aunis, and Saintonge—plentiful vintages are there literally feared, and theſe provinces are at this moment overcharged with wine, for which they have no exportation: the people are miſerable in the midſt of abundance. See Note Chap. 5. Sect. 1.

immenſe

immenſe conſumption; why does ſhe refuſe to ſupply them?

Even if her wines and brandies were not in ſuch ſuperfluity it would be prejudicial not to ſupport the price of them by foreign conſumptions. The greateſt ſcourge of induſtry and eſpecially of manufactures is the low price of liquors ſeducing by their ſtrength. On this account prudent manufacturers carefully avoid wine countries. It would be ſuperfluous to give a detail of their reaſons, but certainly the politician, the moſt jealous of a free extenſion of individual enjoyments, will never become an advocate for leaving things in ſuch a ſtate as to facilitate to men thoſe articles which make them loſe their energy, faculties, reaſon, and conſequently their dignity.

France ought therefore to deſire the commerce of the United States, were it only for this important part of her productions, whoſe abundance would be prejudicial to her manufactures, but whoſe uſe cannot hurt ſtrangers, becauſe, going to them charged with the expences of exportation, their price is enhanced.*

She ought alſo to be anxious for it on account of her manufactures, to employ her population which is in want of work. Conſequently workmanſhip

* There is another reaſon which ought to make the Americans fear leſs the uſe of our wines and brandies, and it is in their morals and poſition: they have moſt of them property, families and morals, and drunkenneſs is ſcarcely a vice but of the man who has nothing: the wretch ſtrives to forget what he is.

is cheap; whence reſults indigence, beggary and ſtrife. * Work and productions are encreaſed by opening new markets. Thus for example, vineyards will remain, which a want of conſumption would ſoon cauſe to be deſtroyed: thouſands of labourers, who languiſh, will be employed, ſociety will be encreaſed by thouſands of individuals: more corn, more cloth, &c. will be neceſſary: hence an increaſe of interior conſumption and population.

When we examine the queſtion, if exterior commerce be advantageous and neceſſary to a nation; a newly conſtituted ſtate, whoſe population is far from being in proportion to its ſoil, where there is ſpace and property in land for every one, muſt be diſtinguiſhed from that which is ancient, rich in productions as well as in men; or to ſpeak with more preciſion, a ſtate where the unequal diſtribution of property, takes men from the fields, ſhuts them up in cities, and proſtitutes their faculties to the fancies of the rich.

Certainly the firſt ought not, cannot increaſe its foreign commerce before it has cleared great quantities of lands, and is become conſiderably peopled, and has a ſurplus of men and productions.—It may well be ſaid to this ſtate, avoid engaging in

* Means are every day ſought to diminiſh and prevent crimes—Let property or employ be given to thoſe who are without them: this is the ſecret—It muſt notwithſtanding be agreed, that property is preferable to employ in workſhops, under this point of view commerce with the United States, in opening to us a great market, will be a means of diminiſhing mendicity and vices in France

before

foreign commerce as long as your circumſtances will permit, and give yourſelves up entirely to interior commerce. This is not expenſive, men are not deſtroyed by it; exterior commerce is a gulph in which men and treaſures are ſwallowed up. With a ſmall fortune you will do great things in interior commerce, exterior commerce abſorbs great capitals. It is alſo the cauſe of war and you are in want of peace. It is corruptive, and your morals are good.

Such a ſtate would do well to follow theſe counſels; making the deprivation of exterior commerce a natural conſequence of its ſituation, and not commanded or required by force; force is illegitimate, prejudicial, and miſſes its aim, even when its ordinances are meant to do good.

But this language would be improper to the other ſtate,* advanced in its civilization, covered with a population without property, having manufactures and money in abundance; whoſe induſtry and territorial riches wait for demands, and whoſe culture lnaguiſhes for want of markets. A foreign commerce is neceſſary to this ſtate to vivify it.

Such is the ſituation of France; neither ſoil, induſtry, activity, nor the thirſt of gain is there wanting; other pernicious cauſes ſlacken her interior commerce. If the merchant has not a certainty of markets, he does not buy nor give orders; the manufacturer employs fewer hands, has leſs occa-

* By theſe words is underſtood a ſtate into which arts and luxury have been ſometime introduced.

ſion for the productions of the earth. Languor then deſcends from manufactures to cultivation and diminiſhes population.

The reverſe will be the caſe in the ſuppoſition of a vaſt exterior commerce, and will lead to the improvement even of our manufactures; for the neceſſity of improving to obtain a preference will oblige manufacturers to ſtudy the taſte of the Americans, and to conform themſelves to it, to vary the productions of their induſtry, and an eſtabliſhed rivality will keep them conſtantly breathing, and oblige them not to relax, that they may not be ſurpaſſed by rivals.

It is here neceſſary to make ſome reflections on the general inferiority found in our manufactures, on comparing them with thoſe of the Engliſh. This fact has furniſhed Lord Sheffield with his principal argument, to maintain that America will always prefer the latter. It is neceſſary to clear up this point, which ſeems not to be well underſtood.

Manufactures of luxury, of conveniency, and of neceſſity, muſt be diſtinguiſhed, in a manner hereafter pointed out. Lord Sheffield and all foreigners agree, that France has the advantage in the firſt claſs of manufactures.† His Lordſhip agrees

† Our manufactures of ſilk, have proportionably a much greater ſale abroad than that of our woollens. It is that, independent of of taſt, or if we will, of faſhion, which we poſſeſs, and which open

agrees even that France makes finer cloths than thoſe of England, but with reſpect to manufactures of convenience, or ſuch as are intended for the conſumption of the people, we muſt, in ſpite of patriotiſm, agree on our part, that we are in many articles inferior to the Engliſh. This will appear by the ſequel. It would be ridiculous and even dangerous to flatter the nation in this particular; the illuſion would keep it in a ſtate of mediocrity. It is for a better conſtituted patriotiſm to prove to the nation, that it may riſe above mediocrity, and to ſhew it by what means this is to be effected. Should any body wiſh to know the cauſe of this double difference between the French and Engliſh manufactures, it is as follows:

There is in England a greater number of men, among the people, in eaſy circumſtances, than in France, and who are conſeqently in a ſituation to chuſe and pay better for ſuch articles as they like. It is a known fact, that the common people of England, although loaded with taxes, are well cloathed and fed;§ the rags of miſery are not

 found

opens to us a great conſumption, the raw material is in a great meaſure one of our own productions; an advantage which puts it in our power to ſurmount many general inconveniencies, whoſe effects are more ſenſible upon our other articles of exportation, ſuch as woollens, the production of which has leſs relation with the manufacture.

§ The goodneſs of things manufactured is ſo generally requiſite in England, that merchandizes deſtined for exportation, are there diſtinguiſhed from thoſe for interior conſumption. There are great ware-

found with the *poulle au pot.** The Engliſh manufacturer having a greater demand for articles of neceſſity, and being better paid for them, can make improvements in his manufacture.

Should it be required to know from whence comes the eaſineſs of circumſtances, ſo general in England: independent of the ſoil and poſition, and the advantages of that liberty which reigns there, it reſults from the conſideration attached to induſtry in the opinion of the public; from the laws ſure protection accorded to every individual, againſt the agents of government; and the haughtineſs and inſolence, to which they are naturally inclined, (becauſe in men of ſlender education theſe are the effect of power) being continually repreſſed, and their being prevented from trampling

warehouſes wherein the ſales are for exportation only; the object of others is interior conſumption. People who judge haſtily conclude from hence, that thoſe for exportation are badly manufactured. They are deceived, the difference is in the choice of materials. *The Engliſhman ſpares nothing for that which he conſumes.* The workmanſhip is the ſame; it would coſt in general more to manufacturers to have two ſorts of workmanſhip, a good and a bad one, than to have one only which is good, and a manufacture eſtabliſhed upon a bad kind of workmanſhip would ſoon be decried. A ſhoe deſtined to foreign commerce is as well made as another; but it does not laſt ſo long, becauſe the leather is not choſen from the beſt kind; and ſo of the reſt.

* A memorable expreſſion of Henry the fourth of France, who, in a converſation with his favourite Sully, ſaid he hoped to ſee the time when the pooreſt of his ſubjects would have it in their power to put a fowl into the pot for their Sunday's dinner.

upon

upon the citizen, who muſt be obedient.—He is obedient to the law, and not to him who puts it in execution.† In fine, it is the conſequence of not bluſhing to be a tradeſman, artificer or workman, from father to ſon.

In France there are particulars exceſſively rich: but the people are poor. The firſt have it in their power to pay extremely dear for articles of luxury and fancy, which cauſe an improvement of manufactures of this kind. Finer cloths, as it has been before obſerved, are to be found in France than in England; but their quantity is not great, becauſe there is not an extenſive demand for thoſe of the firſt quality.

On the other hand, the property of the people being very inconſiderable, they pay badly, and the conſequence is, that things of conveniency or neceſſity are badly manufactured for them.

I will not here enter into the examination of cauſes which occaſion ſuch a ſtate of things, nor of the means of changing it. I will leave the diſ-

† *Thee* and *Thou* as terms of contempt are unknown in England: *Sir* is the general deſignation of every individual. A man accuſed of the greateſt crimes, and who has the moſt miſerable appearance, is never ſpoken to in the ſingular number when he is interrogated by his judges, and as he becomes an object of pity when he is convicted, decent appellations, generally in uſe, are not changed with reſpect to him. Can one ſuppoſe, that this reſpect for man is prejudicial to public proſperity? Man is elevated by it, it gives him energy and inclines him to eaſe. Contempt, which in other places is affected for the people, leads them to miſery and retains them in it.

cuſſion of ſuch means for another chapter, but the following concluſions muſt neceſſarily be drawn from theſe facts: the perfection of manufactures depends upon the demand, and the demand upon the means of payment. Now becauſe the French have not thoſe means, they muſt be ſought after in a foreign country. Encreaſe foreign demands for French manufactures, and they will be ſeen to improve very rapidly. This is the effect which the commerce of the United States will produce in France. Theſe States contain a people accuſtomed to be well cloathed, to make uſe of well manufactured things only, and capable of paying for good workmanſhip by their productions. Charged with the furniſhing of articles for American conſumption, French manufacturers will ſtrive to undo their rivals; and they can eaſily accompliſh this *when Government ſhall be willing*. Nature has given them the means. They will become ſuperior in almoſt every thing, when once they ſhall no longer be obſtinately counteracted.

Therefore the commerce with the United States will be the cauſe of improvement in French cultivation and induſtry. Conſequently it is neceſſary to embrace and purſue it.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

That the United States are obliged by their preſent Neceſſities and Circumſtances to engage in foreign Commerce.

SOME writers, among whom are found the celebrated Doctor Price, and the Abbé Mably, have exhorted the independent Americans, if not to exclude exterior commerce entirely from their ports, at leaſt to keep it within very contracted bounds. They pretend, that the ruin of republicaniſm in the United States could happen but from exterior commerce, becauſe by great quantities of articles of luxury and a frivolous taſte, it would corrupt their morals, and without pure morals a republic cannot exiſt.

" Alas! What can the States export from Europe, " continues Doctor Price, except it be infection? " I avow it, cries the Doctor, I tremble in think- " ing on the furor for exterior commerce, which " is apparently going to turn the heads of the " Americans. Every nation ſpreads nets around " the United States, and careſſes them, in or-

der

" der to gain a preference; but their intereſt " cautions them to beware of theſe ſeductions."*

I am far from contradicting *in its baſis*, the opinion of theſe politicians. Moreover, I think, with Doctor Price, that the United States will one day be able to produce every thing neceſſary and convenient, but I am alſo of opinion, that theſe two writers have conſidered the independent Americans in a falſe point of view, that they have not ſufficiently obſerved the ſtate of their circumſtances; in fine, that *their circumſtances and actual wants oblige them to have recourſe to foreign commerce.* This is a truth which I propoſe to demonſtrate; for I will prove that the independent Americans are in want of the neceſſaries and conveniencies of life, and in ſome ſtates, of luxuries, and that their habits and nature added to other circumſtances will always prevent their renouncing them entirely.

I will prove, that having no manufactures, they cannot themſelves ſupply theſe wants, and that they can have no manufactures for a long time to come.

* Price's Obſervations, page 76. See the Abbé Mably, what he ſays of theſe obſervations, from page 146 to page 163. See alſo what the Comte de Mirabeau has added to the obſervations of Doctor Price, in his reflections printed at the end of his tranſlation of this work, page 319. London edition, 1785.

He has as a ſevere philoſopher, treated on exterior commerce, and made abſtraction of the actual ſituation of the Americans.

That

That although they already poſſeſſed them, they ought to prefer to national ones thoſe of exterior commerce, and that they ſhould rather invite Europeans to their ports than frequent thoſe of the European States.

Finally, that by the ſame reaſon which makes it impoſſible to exclude exterior commerce, in caſe of wants which alone it can ſupply, it is equally ſo to fix its boundaries.

When the nature of man is attentively conſidered, it is ſeen that it inceſſantly diſpoſes him to render his life agreeable. If he has a property, he ſtrives to improve it; if the ſoil he cultivates be fruitful, and demands but little in advance, the deſire of increaſing his enjoyments ſtimulates him to torture his land to draw from it its various productions. One idea put in practice gives birth to another; one want ſatisfied creates a ſecond, to have the pleaſure of ſatisfying this alſo. Such is the nature of man: his activity, which leads him from deſires to enjoyments, from one change to another, is the ſource of what are called manufactures. A manufacture is but the means of giving to a production of the earth, a form which adds to it a new degree of agreeableneſs and utility. Want and deſire of manufactures are therefore in the nature of man; ſo that if we ſuppoſed Europe entirely annihilated, manufactures would ſoon riſe up in America, becauſe each individual ſtrives to render his

his exiſtence agreeable, by means the moſt ſpeedy and efficacious.*

Manufactures, like the wants of civilized men, may be divided into three claſſes: 1ſt. thoſe of neceſſity; 2d. thoſe of convenience; 3d. thoſe of fancy or luxury. Food and the natural exigencies of mankind, are comprehended in the firſt claſs.

It is from the wants of convenience eſpecially, that manufactures have their origin. Without doubt, ſkins of ſheep were ſufficient to defend men from the ſeverities of cold; a cabin or a hut, from the intemperature of the atmoſphere; but man is no ſooner preſerved from one evil, than he ſeeks to get rid of another. Skins are inſuſceptible of be-

* Perhaps the character and life of ſavages, who are ſuppoſed to have no manufacturers among them, will be oppoſed to theſe reaſonings? Men are deceived in judging thereby; for theſe people, which we look upon as only one degree removed from a ſtate of nature, work up and manufacture the earth's productions. Thus from their corn before it is ripe, they extract a gelatinous juice, with which they make palatable cakes. Therefore, before the arrival of Europeans, they knew how to make fermented liquors, tools, utenſils, arms, ornaments, &c. They confined themſelves to theſe; hunting took them from a ſedentary life, and did not give them time enough to extend their ideas.

The paſtoral life of the Arabians has conducted them one or two degrees farther in the art of manufacturing, becauſe that kind of life affords greater leiſure, and gives more uniform and conſtant productions. Thoſe ſhepherds, whoſe riches conſiſt but in their flocks, and who live on milk alone, and are cloathed with their wool only, have a paſſionate deſire for coffee, ſherbet, and ſugar. The deſire of encreaſing their enjoyments is the cauſe. Let it be therefore agreed, that man by his nature is inclined to enjoyment, and conſequently to manufactures.

ing

ing well joined together, uſe makes them hard, a cabin is frequently thrown down, is confined and ſmoaky; whence ariſes the wants of conveniency, which are transformed into enjoyments, whoſe accuſtomed uſe changes them into neceſſities.

When man has every convenience, he then thinks of ornament. Hence the wants of luxury, they are entirely in the imagination, and procure imaginary pleaſures only. Therefore to wear any laced cloaths, or drink coffee out of a china rather than a delfen cup, is a want created by luxury or fancy.

The nature of theſe three kinds of want being pointed out, it is neceſſary to know what thoſe of the Americans are. They have the two firſt of them. Their habitudes contracted in their infancy from European emigrants, and their commerce with the Engliſh, have accuſtomed them to the kind of life and taſte of the latter, and it is well known that Engliſh induſtry has been particularly directed to neceſſary and uſeful arts.

The independent Americans, at leaſt thoſe who inhabit great maritime cities, have borrowed from the Engliſh a taſte for luxuries; they ſeek for gauzes, blond lace, ſilks, &c. It is however with pleaſure I obſerve, that if this taſte of modes has infected London, within theſe few years, its ravages have not been extended with the ſame rapidity in the United States as in Europe. Their ſituation, auſtere religion, morals and ancient habits, their rural or marine life, prevent their ſeeking after ele-

gance and dreſs, and keep them from oſtentation and voluptuouſneſs. Although they may perhaps with reſpect to this, be fallen a few degrees, the evil is not yet ſenſible, at leaſt in the Northern States.* Therefore our obſervations ought principally to reſt upon the two firſt claſſes of wants. Now it is impoſſible that the Americans ſhould ever renounce them; they will be perpetually led and attached to them by their nature and habitudes, and by the manner in which their population is increaſed.

By their nature, becauſe they are men, and it has been proved, that man is endowed with that activity which perpetually diſpoſes him to add to his enjoyments.

By their habitudes, becauſe as it has been obſerved, they contracted that of all thoſe wants, and it is well known that a taſte for pleaſure is not to be exterminated when rooted by habitude. How can it be required of man to deprive himſelf of wine and liquors to which he is accuſtomed, and in which he places a part of his enjoyments, except we would render him unhappy? I will not quote hermits, ſick perſons or philoſophers, who have

* Luxury is certainly to be found in Virginia; and when we ſpeak of luxury with reſpect to free America, it is neceſſary to diſtinguiſh carefully the Southern from the Northern States; cities from the country; maritime cities from interior ones. By theſe diſtinctions many contrarieties in the accounts of ſuperficial travellers may be explained.

had

had that empire over themſelves; but let not a like prodigy be expected in a whole nation. An aſſociation of three millions of philoſophers has not yet been, nor will be ſeen to confine themſelves to the regimen of Pythagoras,‡ or the diet of Cornaro.

The ſevere ſacrifice of tea, which the independent Americans made, at the beginning of the war, will perhaps be alſo quoted. The enthuſiaſm of liberty and influence of example were able, during ſome time, to overcome their habitudes; † as religious enthuſiaſm has combated, ſometimes ſucceſsfully, the paſſions of an hermit. But there is no cauſe powerful enough to produce a like effect except in the criſis which makes the ſacrifice neceſſary and eaſy. The reaſon of the dependence in which the Americans would put themſelves, with reſpect to the Europeans, and the fear of diſtant corruption, are motives too feeble to carry men to that point of heroiſm! It is not ſufficiently demonſtrated to them that they cannot drink wine

‡ It is not that we ought not to believe that one of the great means of regenerating the old people of the Continent, and of ſuppporting republicaniſm in the United States, would be to give to children ſuch an education as Pythagoras exerciſed at Crotona.

See the Life of Pythagoras.

† It is aſſured that abſtinence from tea was not everywhere faithfully obſerved, which appears very probable on reflecting that there was a party which fain would have violated it. I have known ſeveral perſons whom the deprivation of tea had made ill for a long time, although they had tried illuſive means, by ſubſtituting the infuſion of agreeable ſimples for that of the tea leaf.

from

from Madeira without being ſome day corrupted by it, and without preparing the way for great calamities.

The manner in which population is renewed and increaſed in America, does not make it probable that its inhabitants will ever be able to renounce the want of European productions.

A prodigious number of individuals emigrate every year from all parts of Europe to America, who carry with them wants and inclinations, which they have from education and habit. If they find them in America, they continue to gratify them; if they are unknown there, they naturalize them, and it is the firſt thing they go about; for they do not ſo much perceive the new pleaſures they are going to enjoy, as thoſe of which they are deprived; ſo great is the force of our firſt habits and cuſtoms. Remembrance, although frequently mixed with the cruel idea of ſervitude, abandons man in the grave only.

According to this inclination, natural to all men, let the immenſe variety of wants and appetites be calculated, which are going to tranſplant themſelves from Europe to the United States; and let it be judged, whether it be poſſible to put bounds to or deſtroy them.

To ſucceed in this, it would not only be neceſſary to ſhut out foreign commerce from all the American ports: American induſtry muſt be circumſcribed, and the ſource of their wants ſtopped up;

up; it would be neceſſary to imitate the Lacedemonian law, which ordained that nothing ſhould be worked up but with the heavy hatchet, the more effectually to baniſh the luxury of elegant furniture. In a word, a miracle muſt be operated upon the Americans, to take from them all remembrance of what they have been, of all they have ſeen, ſmelt or taſted; and the ſame enchantment muſt deprive European emigrants of their ideas; as it would be abſurd to hope for a like prodigy, *the force of things*, which drags the independent Americans into exterior commerce, muſt be ſubmitted to.§ All is reduced to two words; America has wants, and Europe has manufactures.

The United States have ſome of them; but the greater part is among the number of thoſe, which, united to the labours of the field, fill up the leiſure given by agriculture, and in which Europeans cannot hope to become their rivals.

They have others confined to the moſt neceſſary arts, to thoſe connected with cultivation, fiſheries, and the conſtruction of veſſels. But even theſe manufactures are but few in number, and inſufficient for the wants of the United States. They

§ It is with regret that I write this fact, on conſidering it philoſophically, but it appears to have been demonſtrated politically. No perſon wiſhes more than I do to ſee the United States ſeparate themſelves from all the world, and in this ſituation to find again the auſterity of the Spartan regimen, without its cruel principles of military diſpoſition. It would be a ſmart ſtroke in politics; but this unhappily is no more than a dream.

are therefore obliged to have recourſe to Europe. It is not that they neither have, nor can have almoſt all the raw materials employed in our own manufactures. They have hemp, flax, and cotton.*

But, if they had raw materials in plenty, they ought to be adviſed not to eſtabliſh manufactures; or, to ſpeak more juſtly, *manufactures could not be eſtabliſhed; the nature of things ordains it ſo.* Let us diſcuſs this queſtion, as it is an important one.

There are many reaſons for mens engaging in a new country in agriculture rather than in manufactures. There, where two individuals can eaſily live together, they marry ſays Monteſquieu. The labour of the field offers to them more means of

* The four Southern States gather great quantities of cotton. Their poor are cloathed with it winter and ſummer. In winter they wear cotton ſhirts, and cloaths of wool and cotton mixed. In ſummer their ſhirts are linen, and their outward cloaths of cotton. Womens dreſs is entirely of cotton, and made up by themſelves, women of the richeſt claſs excepted; yet a woman of this claſs has a deal of cotton worked up in her houſe, and this callico equals in beauty that of Europe. Thoſe from the South furniſh a deal of cotton to the States of the North, which cannot grow it, the climate being too cold.

There is ſcarcely any part of the United States without good flour and ſaw mills. The Northern States have others for flattening iron. It is in the conſtruction of mills eſpecially, that the Americans diſtinguiſh themſelves, in varying their employ and utility, and in their diſtribution.

See Letters of the American cultivation, particularly vol. 3, of the new edition, which is ſoon to appear, wherein will be found a chapter highly intereſting *upon the progreſs of things* in America.

living

living together, of augmenting and ſupporting their family, than working at manufactures: in theſe the dependance of the workman, his precarious and changeable ſtate, his moderate wages, and the high price of proviſions in cities, where moſt manufactures are eſtabliſhed, put it out of his power to think of having a companion, and if he has one, the proſpect of miſery which ſhe muſt have before her eyes after his death, impoſes on him a law contrary to propagation, to avoid the cruelty of cauſing children to be brought into the world only to be unhappy.*

In a new country where land is not dear, where it requires not much in advance, or an expenſive cultivation, and is at the ſame time fruitful; the number of little and happy families muſt rapidly encreaſe.

What a difference in other reſpects from this pure and ſimple country life, where man is conſtantly in the preſence of nature, where his ſoul is elevated by the ſpectacle, where his phyſical principles continually regenerate by a ſalubrious air, and in reviving exerciſes, where he lives in the midſt of his relations

* Journeymen manufacturers, and in general men in a ſtate of dependance, whoſe ſubſiſtence is precarious, and who have children, certainly love them leſs than the inhabitant of the country who have a ſmall property. The paternity is a burthen, and conſequently often odious to the firſt; their children are ignorant of the ſoft careſſes of paternal love. What kind of generation muſt ariſe from ſuch a connection.

and friends, whom he makes happy: what a difference from that to the life of manufacturers condemned to vegetate in diſmal priſons, where they reſpire infection, and where their minds are abſorbed, as well as their lives abridged. This conduct alone ought to decide the Americans to reject the painful ſtate of manufactures.*

Beſides

* The idea of property is one of the ſtrongeſt ties by which man is attached to life, to his country, to virtue, and I will add even to health. The ſatisfaction of a manufacturer who at the end of the week has a guinea in his pocket, is far from that of the little country proprietor, who is ſeldom poſſeſſed of ſuch a ſum; but who gathers in his own field, every thing neceſſary. He loves it, ſees it always with pleaſure, takes care of its cultivation, and, by a conſequence of this ſoft diſpoſition, he attaches himſelf to the animals which aſſiſt him in that cultivation.

The labourer ſees, as he works, the poſſibility of encreaſing the number of his children; and he has the pleaſing hope of leaving them after his death a little corner of earth which will keep them from indigence.

The labourer is happy becauſe his contracts are with the earth only, which gives liberally and diſintereſtedly, whilſt the intereſt of the maſter who pays the manufacturer, embitters the wages which he receives.

The labourer is ſtill happy, becauſe he is only amongſt his equals; inequality is the ſource of malice. The ſuperior is malicious to ſupport his oppreſſion. The ſlave is vindictive to deſtroy and revenge it.

The labourer is amiable and generous, becauſe it would be neceſſary to abandon all cultivation, if there were not between huſbandmen a reciprocity of ſervices and confidence.

Perhaps it would not be difficult to prove that health and goodneſs are diminiſhed in proportion to the encreaſe of manufactures, cities, property, and the deſertion of rural life, and that vices and crimes are encreaſed in the ſame proportion.

This

Beſides there will be, for a conſiderable time to come, more to be gained in the United States, by the earth which yields abundantly, than by manufactures—andman places himſelf in that ſituation where the greateſt and moſt ſpeedy gain is to be acquired.

As population muſt for many ages be diſproportioned to the extent of the United States, land will be cheap there during the ſame length of time,* and

This is not the opinion of the ſenſible and intereſting author of the Study of Nature: "When I was at Moſcow," ſays he, (Vol. III.) "an old Genevois, who was in that city n the time of Peter I. "told me, that ſince different means of ſubſiſtence had been open-"ed to the people by the eſtabliſhment of manufactures and com-"merce, ſeditions, aſſaſſinations, robberies and incendiaries had "been leſs frequent than formerly."

But this would not have exiſted, and there would have been the ſame public and private virtue, if inſtead of making the Ruſſians manufacturers, they had been made proprietors of lands. Huſbandmen, are honeſt people, ſays M de St. Pierre himſelf.—And workſhops, as I have juſt obſerved, do not offer that neceſſity of reciprocal ſervice which gives the habitude of goodneſs; they preſent intereſt ſtruggling againſt intereſt, rich and indolent ſtupidity ſtriving to cheat active indigence. If workſhops do not make men raſcals, they diſpoſe them to become ſo; they make them egotiſts, inſenſible, uncouth, and bad fathers.

Therefore, the fact quoted by this author does not prove, that to prevent crimes it is neceſſary to eſtabliſh manufactures; but that it is better to have manufactures peopled with degraded workmen, than foreſts with banditti; 'tis a leſſer evil, but it is ſtill an evil.

* An idea of the price of lands in the United States, may be formed from the following article taken from the Gazette of Philadelphia, of 9th of December 1784: "Obſerve that the ground of "Pennſylvania begins to be dear, and that the inhabitants begin to "emigrate

conſequently the inhabitants will for a long time be cultivators.

Thoſe whom ambition, thirſt of gain, or ignorance ſhould incline to eſtabliſh manufactures, will, from that moment be diſbanded from it, by the dearneſs of workmanſhip. This dearneſs is already very conſiderable,* and may become ſtill more ſo, as the cauſe which occaſions it muſt naturally become more extended.

What is the cauſe? It has already been intimated ſo as to be foreſeen.

Cities are built in all quarters; † lands are cleared and eſtabliſhments made every where. In the County of Kentucket for inſtance, where in 1771, there were ſcarcely one hundred inhabitants, there are

" emigrate to Kentucket."—By this advertiſement there are offered to ſale, " 25,000 acres of land, ſituated in the County of Northamp-" ton, State of Penſylvania, upon the Delawar.—A public road, a " navigable river, fertile ſoil, excellent for culture—meadows—" places for mills—great foreſts—plenty of fiſh-ponds, &c. at half " a guinea an acre.

" Another quantity of 25,000 acres, upon the Suſquehannah, " with equal and even greater advantages, at the ſame price.—" Good title deeds,—facilites of payment.—A reſerve of three hun-" dred acres only will be required in each diſtrict for the main-" tenance of the clergyman of the pariſh;—one hundred guineas " when there ſhall be fifty families, to build a parſonage houſe—" ten guineas a year for five years, and proviſion for the ſchool-" maſter.

* Three, four, and five livres, are frequently paid in the cities of United States, for the day's work of a carpenter, lockſmith, &c.

† This is a great evil, as will be hereafter proved, and which will contribute more than any other to the ruin of republican ſpirit.

now

now nearly thirty thouſand; and theſe men have emigrated from inhabited coaſts or countries. Thus hands are taken from the commerce and agriculture of theſe laſt, which is conſequently the cauſe of the encreaſed price of workmanſhip.

From this dearneſs it has been concluded in Europe that the people in America were wretched; a contrary concluſion ought to have been drawn. Wherever workmen govern; wherever they are paid a high price, the people are neceſſarily happy; for it is of them that the various claſſes of workmen are compoſed.

On the contrary, wherever workmanſhip is at a low price, the people are wretched; for this cheapneſs proves, that there are more workmen than there is work to execute, more want of employ than can be ſupplied. This is what the rich deſire, that they may govern the workmen, and buy the ſweat of their brows at the loweſt rate poſſible.*

It is the reverſe in America, the workmen gives the law, and ſo much the better, he receives it too often every where elſe.

This dearneſs of workmanſhip is prejudicial to manufactures, and ſtill ſo much the better. Theſe

* To be convinced of this truth, look at England and France; workmanſhip is very dear in London but cheap in Paris. The workman in London is well fed, cloathed and paid; in Paris he is quite the contrary.

" It frequenly happens," ſaid an American one day to me, " that I meet in the United States a ploughman, conducting his plough and

eſtabliſhments are ſo many tombs which ſwallow up generations entire.* Agriculture, on the contrary perpetually encreaſes population.

By preventing, or at leaſt retarding the riſe of manufactures within their provinces, the Americans will ſtop the decadency of morals and public ſpirit: for if manufactures bring gold into the States, they bring at the ſame time a poiſon which undermines them. They reſemble a number of individuals whoſe nature and morals are at once corrupted: they form and accuſtom men to ſervitude, and give in a republic a preponderance to Ariſtocratical principles, and by accumulating riches in a ſmall number of hands, they cauſe republics to incline to Ariſtocracy.

Therefore the independent Americans will do wiſely to leave to Europe the care of manufacturing for them, becauſe ſhe is irreſiſtibly dragged into manufactures; and as their population and conſumption muſt rapidly encreaſe, it is not impoſſible that Europe may one day confine herſelf to

and horſes, and eating a wing of a turkey and a piece of good white bread. I have ſeen added he, a veſſel arrive at New York, full of Scotchmen, not one of whom was unhired or unemployed the next day.

* There are ſeveral manufactures at Amiens, and it is remarked, that the hoſpitals are more filled with manufacturers than with maſons or other like artizans. A manufacturing life makes more people ill and their complaints more dangerous; it is becauſe this kind of workmen becomes ſooner debauched, and goes ſooner to the hoſpital, being moſtly ſingle, and without any domeſtic attachment.

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this kind of occupation, and that America may one day become her ſtorehouſe of grain and raw materials, of which ſhe will not be in need. In this caſe, nothing will be ſeen in Europe but cities and workſhops; in independent America, nothing but fields well cultivated. I will leave it to be decided which country would have the moſt happy fate.

Under the ſame point of view, the independent Americans will ſtill act wiſely by leaving it to the Europeans to furniſh them with neceſſary articles; and in ſeldom frequenting the cities and ſea ports of the antient continent. In effect, an European tranſported to independent America is in the proportion of one to one hundred, and ſometimes to a thouſand.—His example has therefore but very little influence, the luxury of which he makes a parade in paſſing by, excites leſs conſideration or reſpect than contempt and ridicule. If he leaves a remembrance of himſelf it is ſoon effaced by the general motion: there are, moreover, ſome Europeans, who, ſtruck and edified by the manners and cuſtoms of free America, have good ſenſe enough to reſpect and conform themſelves to them.

It is the reverſe when an American goes on ſhore in Europe, almoſt alone, with his ſimplicity of manners in the midſt of a vortex of men who eſteem the eclat of exterior appearance only; who, agitated and led by the general ton, ſacrifice every thing to the furor of making a great figure by the brilliance of dreſs, equipage and pomp: this American muſt,

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at firſt be torn down and tormented, becauſe he finds himſelf thrown into a circle of habitudes contrary to his own. Afterwards he becomes familarized by little and little, and if he does not quite get a taſte for them, at leaſt his attachment to a ſimplicity of life and manners is neceſſarily weakened. Carrying back with him to his own country this diſpoſition of mind, he introduces it inſenſibly into the minds of thoſe who are about him, upon which it has ſome influence—upon the minds of his children and friends. Their taſte for ſimplicity becomes lukewarm by his example, and the following age ſees public virtues fall into indifference.

It will be leſs dangerous to the public ſpirit of the independent Americans to admit the Europeans into the United States, than to go themſelves into Europe; from which it reſults that it would be very impolitic to encourage the former to become the carriers of their exterior Commerce.

I have inſiſted upon this reflection becauſe there ſeems to have appeared in ſome States a diſpoſition to give premiums for diſtant navigation. They ought to reflect that they have but few hands, and that as few as poſſible ſhould be taken from culture. They are in the ſituation I have ſpoken of in my principles of exterior Commerce, where a nation gains by making carriers of others having leſs ſoil or employ. They ſhould alſo recollect, that republican morals are better preſerved in the boſom of agriculture than upon the ſea and in foreign voy-

ages,

ages, which give to men communications with other morals and governments.

It is a general queſtion in the United States by what means it is poſſible to put bounds to exterior commerce, and ſtop the progreſs of luxury: ſtay at home,—cultivate, cultivate, I will repeat to them; this is the ſecret whereby you will prevent the increaſe of luxury; a ſecret much preferable to ſumptuary laws and prohibitory regulations, which ſome ſtates have it in contemplation to make.

There is no power great enough to ſet, by regulations, ſuch boundaries to exterior commerce as will not be exceeded: to circumſcribe it for inſtance to merchandizes of convenience, without the importation of thoſe of luxury. The nature or force of things only has ſuch a power. That force has, as has been before explained, the union of the natural circumſtances of a nation, theſe circumſtances alone mark the limits of commerce. A nation which cannot pay for luxuries with its own production, does not purchaſe them. The ſavage, can only procure with his furs, brandy, gunpowder, and woollen coverings; he buys neither ſilks nor laces.

If, therefore, the productions of the United States be ſcarcely ſufficient to pay for the importations of neceſſity and convenience from Europe, merchandizes of luxury will not be imported: If theſe be carried to it, 'tis becauſe it can pay for them.

them. There is no merchant who likes to ruin himſelf.

If on the contrary, the United States have productions proper for the ancient continent, in quantities ſufficient to procure by their exchange, not only the moſt neceſſary and convenient things, but even thoſe of luxury, nothing can hinder the latter from being ſooner or later imported, by means of exterior commerce.

In truth, to encreaſe demands of this nature, the public opinion, which before treated opprobriouſly a taſte for modes, muſt totally change, and the particular opinions of certain ſects equally yield to it.

But notwithſtanding the powerful influence of opinion upon merchandizes of luxury, the fate of this kind of commerce will be more particularly determined by the ſtate of the independent Americans, for when rich they will adopt them. This fact will appear certain, if what has been ſaid on the nature of the human heart be recollected, and its inclination to improve man's ſituation, and to encreaſe his enjoyments.

Taſte for a rural life alone, if the Americans preſerve it, will retard the progreſs of luxury, which ſprings up in cities, from ſatiety, want of ſomething to do, and from laſſitude: employment preſerves the country from thoſe moral ills.

There is one laſt conſideration, which ought to perſuade the independent Americans to employ themſelves in cultivation, and reject both manufac-

tures

tures and exterior tranſports; which is, that in wiſhing to undertake every thing at once, the ſcarcity of money, neceſſary at leaſt for the mechanical part of theſe operations, will always be more perceived, whilſt, by giving themſelves up entirely to cultivation, they will procure from their ſoil, productions ſufficient to pay for theſe manufactures from Europe, and to make up for the ſcarcity of coin.*

* The independent Americans have but little money; this ſcarcity ariſes from two cauſes; firſt, from the kind of commerce they heretofore carried on with England, and afterwards from the ravages of a ſeven years war. As this commerce was purely one of exchange, and that in certain ſtates, as Virginia, the importations always ſurpaſſed the exportations, the reſult was, that they could not but be debtors to England, and could not draw money from that iſland.

It was a kind of commercial ſervitude, which the Engliſh looked upon as the pledge and guarantee of the dependence of the Colonies upon the mother country.

The money they had, came from their illicit commerce with the Sugar Iſlands and European powers. The war, afterwards, by changing labourers into ſoldiers, cauſed a part of their lands to remain without cultivation. From that time exchanges encreaſed and money decreaſed. The little of it remaining in America, came firſt from money carried and expended there by the Engliſh and French armies, and afterwards by the loans negociated in Europe by Congreſs.

But it is eaſy to conceive, after what has been ſaid upon the quantity of coin, how a nation, which, by an extraordinary revolution, is all at once widely developed, its population rapidly encreaſed, and is thereby obliged to continual advances, for clearing of lands, for building, making of roads and canals, to pay foreign debts, moſtly in ſpecie, and which has no mines, muſt feel the ſcarcity of money, and the reaſon of it is clear: the want of it is at preſent ſupplied in Connecticut, by an exchange of commodities, or theſe againſt labour.

They

They appear to be alarmed at this, what has been ſaid upon the ſubject of money ought to remove their fears. It has been demonſtrated that a nation may carry on a very conſiderable commerce without its aid. It will hereafter be ſeen that the United States produce many raw materials eſſentially neceſſary to France, and that ſhe can make their exports with greater advantage than thoſe of any other country.

Thus it appears that theſe two countries may carry on together a direct trade of exchange without money, conſequently an advantageous one; for the exchange between them of productions is more lucrative than an exchange of productions for money; although this opinion may not be adopted by men in general, who attach a greater price to gold than to merchandize, and continually forget its repreſentative value, to ſubſtitute for it a real one. It muſt be inceſſantly repeated to them that money would be abſolutly nothing without productions; that a rich people is that which, by its induſtry, increaſes population, and has conſequently an abundance of productions; that the ſecret of encreaſing the quantity of coin conſiſts only in the art of multiplying neceſſary productions, and it is this to which the United States ought to incline, without being anxious about the money which they may have, at preſent or in future.*

Let

* To know what ſum of money the United States may one day have, it would be neceſſary to determine whether or not their exportations

Let us reſume the different queſtions contained in this chapter.

My object has been to make it appear that the United States were forced by their neceſſity and circumſtances to engage in exterior commerce.

To convince my readers of this, I have proved that the independent Americans had wants of neceſſity, of convenience, and even ſome of luxury; which they could neither renounce nor ſupply themſelves with.

That having no manufactures of their own, they were obliged to have recourſe to thoſe of Europe: that they could eſtabliſh none for a long time, having but few hands, and that cultivation ought to employ all their cares.

That according to phyſical, political and moral relations, they ought to perſevere in applying themſelves to agriculture alone, and even give up all thoughts of tranſporting to Europe by their own means, their proper productions.

That this was the only means of preſerving their republican morals, and of retarding the progreſs of luxury.

In fine, that by engaging in agriculture and neglecting manufactures, they will leſs perceive the

tations will exceed their importations, and to what the difference between them will amount to, and alſo to calculate what the demands of the old continent will be, and the conſumption it will make of the productions of the new one—It is impoſſible to fix theſe firſt principles, and it is otherwiſe an idle queſtion.

want

want of money, and will find the means of ſupplying that want, and of carrying on a very advantageous exterior commerce of exchange of commodities.

Theſe different points being firmly eſtabliſhed, it is at preſent neceſſary to prove, that of all the nations of Europe, France is the moſt proper to enter into a commercial alliance with the United States, and that their neceſſities and productions are correſpondent to each other. It is propoſed to lay open this truth, by preſenting the double table of reciprocal importations and exportations, to be made between France and free America.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Of the Importation to be made from France into the United States, or of the Wants of the United States, and the Productions of France which correſpond thereto.

THE attentive reader will have already been able to judge, that if the independent Americans do not deviate from the career which is open to them, Europe will, for a long time, have to furniſh them with manufactured merchandize. It has been made to appear, that the clearing and cultivation of lands, and all that relates to interior commerce, ſuch as roads and canals, offered to their induſtry the moſt favourable and uſeful employ, eſpecially whilſt impoſts do not reſtrain their movements, and that a free conſtitution equally honours every individual.

It is now neceſſary to take a curſory view of their wants, and to point out thoſe articles with which France may pretend to furniſh them in competition with other nations, if even ſhe cannot do it more advantageouſly than her rivals. I will follow, in this enumeration, the Engliſh publications which have treated upon the matter, and par-

ticularly that of *Lord Sheffield:* he has omitted nothing, becauſe his country pretends to every thing.*

SECTION I.

WINES.

Wine becomes a real want to thoſe who have once been acquainted with it. Happy or miſerable, rich or poor, every body makes uſe of wine. Wine is the delight of the happy or of the rich. It helps the unfortunate to ſupport his ſorrow; the poor think they find it an equivalent for the food they are without.

Eaſe has lately been too general in the United States, not to have introduced the uſe of wine; and futurity, by augmenting their means, will only encreaſe their want of this liquor.

The wines which were moſt generally conſumed in the United States, were, as in England, Oporto, Madeira, and ſome from Spain. French wines charged as in Britain, with enormous duties, were introduced by contraband only.

* I will not deſcend to the minutiæ his Lordſhip has done, but I will prove in every important article, the French, if they know how to profit by their natural advantages, muſt obtain a preference.

Liberty

Liberty has cauſed thoſe Britannic ſhackles to diſappear. French wines are freely imported into the United States, and pay but little duty.

Such is the ſtate of things, and it leads me to the diſcuſſion of three queſtions:

Does it ſuit the United States to cultivate vines, and to make wine?

Ought they not, in renouncing this cultivation, to give the preference to French wines?

And what means ought the French to uſe, in order to obtain and preſerve this preference?

It would be abſurd to deny, that the United States can produce wine, becauſe the experiments hitherto made have been fruitleſs. Extended as they are, and having countries as Southern as Europe, it is impoſſible, there ſhould not be in many places, a ſoil proper for the vine.

The little ſucceſs of attempts, may therefore, without hazarding too much, be attributed either to the ignorance of the cultivator, his want of perſeverance, or a bad choice of plants.

However that may be, if the Americans will hearken to the counſels of able obſervers, and reap advantage from the errors of other nations, they will carefully avoid the cultivation of vines. In every country where they have been cultivated, for one rich man, they have made a number wretched.

The long and conſiderable advances which vines require, the preparation, preſervation and

ſale of their produce, have put all the good vine-yard plots into the hands of rich people, who not cultivating theſe themſelves, pay the real cultivator very badly. The ſalary of the wretched vine-dreſſer is every where inevitably fixed; the time he does not work not being calculated, and few wine countries offer any employ by which loſt time may be filled up; and otherwiſe, the variations in the prices of the moſt neceſſary commodities occaſioned by a thouſand cauſes, by the abundance or even ſcarcity of wine, are not conſidered for him.

Would it be believed, that abundance is the moſt unfortunate thing that can happen, either to the proprietor or the vine-dreſſer? In fact, the expence of gathering augments, and the price of the thing diminiſhes. There is more work to be done, more hands are neceſſary, and they are paid more wages;* more hogſheads are wanted, the expences of carriage greater, more ſpace is required, the ſale is leſs, and conſequently the income.†

The

* The day's work of a vintager varies according to the ſcarcity or abundance of wine, from ſix to fifty ſols. The price of hogſheads has likewiſe variations in a different price, from three to fifteen livres. There are years wherein the price of the hogſhead is higher than that of the wine which it contains.

The proprietor who eſtabliſhes his expences upon his revenues, is every year deceived by thoſe of the vineyard. In one year he receives at the rate of 20 for 100, the ſecond year his vineyard is perhaps deſtroyed by hail; the third he is expoſed to bankruptcy, or to ſuffer by it, or his wines turn ſour; the fourth he may have but a moderate produce, which will not compenſate for his prece

ding

The ſcarcity of wines, or the ſterility of the vineyard, is perhaps leſs unfortunate than the abundance, at leaſt to the proprietor. But it is cruelly felt by the vine-dreſſer, and thoſe wandering troops of day labourers, whom the ingratitude of their ſoil, or a bad government, forces to go from home in ſearch of employ.

The numerous variations which have an influence upon the produce of the vineyard, make it very inconvenient property, and triflingly advantageous.‡ The return muſt be waited for when much has been gathered; payments muſt be made when there has been but little. The proprietor muſt therefore have other reſources, whether it be to wait or to pay. The vine-dreſſer, unhappy enough to have a property,§ without any of theſe reſources, ruins himſelf ſooner or later. He is obliged to ſell at a low price,* or to conſume his

 wines,

ding Loſſes. In ten years time a proprietor would ſcarcely find an average year, which was tolerably good; yet, as men love to exaggerate their riches and means, each proprietor calculates his revenue upon the higheſt produce that his vineyard has ever yielded: the greateſt part of them ſpend in conſequence, and are ruined.

‡ It is a proverb in France, that there is no property worſe conditioned than that of the vineyard.

§ The ſituation of a vine dreſſer is different according to the cuſtom of countries. In ſome he is hired only by the day, and there he is completely wretched. In others, as in Switzerland, he has half of the produce. But an unjuſt and tyrannical tax, laid on by the proprietors themſelves, reduces this half to a quarter part.

* Such is nearly the ſituation of moſt of the vine-dreſſers of *Aunis*, who are proprietors. They are at the mercy of the rich

wines himſelf; thence reſults his ſtupidity and idleneſs, his diſcouragement, his dull and quarrelſome humour, and eſpecially the ruin of his health. Too much wine in the time of abundance, no bread in that of ſcarcity; theſe are the two alternatives which divide his life.

Therefore countries covered with vineyards, are generally leſs peopled, and preſent a picture of a degenerated, weak and wretched population. For the moſt part they want hands to cultivate the vineyard, in a ſeaſon when work cannot be delayed. It is done by theſe bands of ſtrangers, of whom I have already ſpoken, and who come to ſell ſome days work to the poor wine-dreſſer.

The cultivation of a vineyard cannot be better compared than to thoſe manufactures, of which the hopes of ſucceſs are founded, upon the low price of workmanſhip, and which enrich none but the undertakers, and retailers or ſhopkeepers.

farmers of that country. When winter comes, the vine-dreſſer has neither bread nor money. He goes to the farmer, aſks him for both: the farmer ſays, I will accommodate you, give me your note. The buſhel of wheat is worth ſix livres, oblige yourſelf to return me, at a certain epocha, the quantity of wheat which ſhall be ſold for ſix livres. He always takes care to fix the time when corn is at a low price. The obligation is paſſed, the moment of payment arrives; the vine-dreſſer, who has corn, gives more than he has received. If he has none, he is ſtill more embarraſſed; the farmer preſſes him, you have wine ſays he, ſell it me. But at what price? The farmer offers a very low one. It is refuſed, he threatens, the poor vine-dreſſer is obliged to ruin himſelf, and this ſcene is annually repeated.

The

The pernicious influence of the vine is extended, in wine countries, to even thoſe, who do not cultivate it; for the cheapneſs of wine leads to exceſſes, and conſequently it becomes a poiſon for all ranks of ſociety, for thoſe eſpecially who find in it a means of forgetting their ſorrows.

Therefore, as I have already remarked, induſtry carefully avoids theſe dangerous vineyard plots. None of the great manufactures, whoſe ſucceſs is the conſequence of order, aſſiduity and labour, are ſeen in the neighbourhood of them.

The reſult of all theſe obſervations is, that the Americans ought to proſcribe the cultivation of the vine.

It would infallibly render miſerable that claſs of ſociety which ſhould apply itſelf to it, and in a republic there ſhould be none who are wretched, becauſe want obliges them to diſturb civil order, or what is worſe, becauſe they are at the command of the rich by whom they are paid, and who may make uſe of them to deſtroy republicaniſm.*

Conſidered with reſpect to the proprietors, the vine ought ſtill to be proſcribed by the United States; becauſe every profeſſion or calling, ſuſceptible of too great a variation of fortune, which ſometimes heaps up riches to one perſon, and at others reduces to indigence individuals in eaſy

* The mean language of ſhopkeepers, who humbly offer their merchandize, has already begun to find its way into the American papers.

circumſtances, ought carefully to be avoided.—Oeconomy, ſimplicity, private virtues, are not attached to ſuch changeableneſs.

They are found in the boſom of mediocrity only, from eaſineſs of circumſtances, founded upon that kind of toil whoſe produce is conſtant. † Such is that of agriculture in general, it embraces divers productions, which in caſe of accident, replace each other. ‡

Finally, if it be inſiſted that wine is neceſſary to man, let it not ſtupify him; it ſhould be uſed with moderation, and its dearneſs alone may oblige men to be moderate in the uſe of it. It being greatly the intereſt of the American Republics to remove all exceſſes from individuals, in order to prevent this degeneracy, they ought to keep perpetually at a diſtance from them a production, whoſe dearneſs will prevent the abuſe of it, whoſe cultivation would render it cheap, and conſequently bring on dangerous exceſſes both to policy and morals. §

The

† The Indians are almoſt all cultivators or weavers, which is the reaſon why private morals have been better preſerved among theſe people than any where elſe, in ſpite of the exceſſes of deſpotiſm.

‡ What recompence would be conſiderable enough for an ingenious man, who ſhould give to humanity the means of preſerving potatoes for ſeveral years, eſpecially if the proceſs were ſimple and not expenſive? In that caſe want would be no longer feared. The embarraſſment about the legiſlation of corn would diſappear, and miſery perhaps be driven from among men.

§ It will be objected, that men employed in agriculture, have need of wine to ſupport them in their labour. This is but an opinion

The catalogue which I have juſt gone over, of the evils and abuſes occaſioned by the culture of vines, will not induce the French to pull up theirs. But it ought at leaſt to excite them to encreaſe in foreign markets the conſumption of wines, in order to keep up their price, and conſequently to diminiſh a part of the evils which they produce. This will be doubly advantageous, by an additional exterior profit, and a diminuttion of interior ill: Nobody will deny that French wines muſt obtain the preference in the United States. They are the moſt agreeable, the moſt varied and wholeſome, if moderately uſed; the leaſt prejudicial, if uſed to exceſs. They ought to be the baſis of our exportations to America; no nation can raiſe a competition with us. Lord Sheffield himſelf pays this homage to our wines; but in order to aſſure to them this advantage for ever, the art of making, preſerving, and tranſporting them muſt be improved.

In general we are at preſent far from this:* Ignorance, old prejudices, diſcouragement of the people.

nion: there are found, in countries where it is leaſt uſed, vigorous and indefatigable men. In truth, wine contains an active ſpirit which may ſupply the want of ſubſtantial aliment, and it is for this reaſon, the peaſants have recourſe to wine or brandy, which is more within their reach. Give them meat and potatoes, and they will eaſily do without wine.'

* I will quote for inſtance, the wines of Provence, which by their ſtrength ought to be capable of ſupporting the longeſt voyages; and by their analogy to the wines of Portugal, would have the greateſt ſucceſs in the United States, if they were properly prepared. Theſe wines

ple, impoſt on exportation; all concur to retard the progreſs of improvement. *Let government conſent to it*, and theſe obſtacles will diſappear; the lights thrown upon the arts will replace prejudices,

wines have hitherto been in the loweſt repute in the North, in the Indian and American colonies; and that becauſe on one hand, the fitters out of veſſels brought them without chuſing, and on the other, the individual having no idea of the culture of wines, nor of the preparation of wine, mixed the white grape with the red, did not diſtinguiſh the plants, the ſoil nor ſituation; cured it by rote, without paying attention to the difference of years and qualities; put into his tubs, to give, as he pretended, a higher flavor to his wine, all ſorts of deteſtable ingredients, ſuch as ſalt, lime, plaſter, and pigeons dung; put it into bad caſks of cheſnut-tree; left in them a year's ſediment, and never drew off the wine, ſo that it was always more inclined to turn ſour then any other wine, and therefore became little fit for a foreign voyage.

I have been aſſured, that the greateſt part of theſe abuſes ſtill exiſt. It muſt nevertheleſs be hoped that they will inſenſibly diſappear, thanks to the care and perſeverance of Meſſrs. *Bergraſſe*, brothers, who have in Provence a conſiderable eſtabliſhment of this kind, and who ſtrive to improve the growth of wine, and to extend the commerce of it to all quarters. This Province will one day be under the greateſt obligation to theſe patriots, and government ought to ſecond their views.

They have got ſome Germans, who apply themſelves ſucceſsfully to the melioration of theſe wines. It is to them that the introduction of the vaſt tuns uſed in Germany is due, a ſure means of preſerving, at a little expence, the ſtrength of the wine. It muſt here be obſerved, that theſe wines would ſucceed in the Eaſt Indies, that they would be a means of rendering that commerce advantageous, if monopoly did not deprive it of the benefits of induſtry and liberty. How happens it that theſe errors are repeated? It is from memoirs drawn up at Paris, where ignorance of commerce is favourable to intriguers, who ſurprize miniſtry into granting them privileges.

and

and new openings will animate the induſtry of the people.* Let ſorrowful paſt leſſons be attended to; leſſons which circumſtances perpetually give;† they ſhew

* Theſe means are more efficacious than any other, to enliven commerce. The hope of an advantageous ſale, is, as I have already obſerved, the moſt ſeducing allurement to the cultivation. The premiums propoſed for encouraging the exportation of wines can be neceſſary for the purpoſe only of facilitating the plan of a new commerce, whoſe beginnings are always difficult and burthenſome; becauſe, for want of experience, men are obliged to grope and make fruitleſs and frequently expenſive efforts. Premiums make amends for them. But when the road is conſtructed and known, they ought to be ſuppreſſed; they are the leading ſtrings which ſupport the infant in the cradle, but they ought to be thrown off when he is become ſtrong enough to walk by himſelf. If any kind of commerce be too feeble to do without premiums, it is a certain ſign that it is imperfect in its nature, and unſuſceptible of being ſupported. Premiums, in this caſe are prejudicial to the public revenue, without preventing the trader from ruining himſelf.

The other encouragement propoſed from time to time to animate commerce, are, for the moſt part, inefficacious. Let it be again obſerved, that there is but one great means, conſumption, which inſures a conſtant ſale. Premiums, medals, encomiums, given to the cultivator or manufacturer, do not feed him. Sales make him live, and ſubſiſtence is the firſt end at which he aims.

Theſe encouragements are ſo many ſpecies of reſtitution, which exceſſive riches make to the indigence they have deſpoiled. But of what uſe are they? It is like giving momentary ſtrength to a man whoſe arms and legs have been cut off. It is not however unfortunate, that the repentance of adminiſtration is uſeleſs, and that theſe little means have miſcarried by the nature of things. Theſe calamities lead, in the end, to real knowledge.

† In England, Government allows drawbacks upon all objects of importation which are re-exported, that it is to ſay, it returns the whole or the greateſt part of the duties paid on entry. It would be eaſy

ſhew to government that for foreign commerce to proſper, it muſt be free, exempt from cuſtom; that by ſubjecting it to the moſt trifling impoſt, the commerce of rivals is favoured.

The United States themſelves, (theſe ſtates of ſo new a date,) already furniſh us the model of an inſtitution, which alone would encourage the culture of corn and wines, and make the momentary inconvenience of abundant vintages, which ruin the proprietor and the farmer, diſappear.

This inſtitution, eaſy to be naturalized in France, would have two branches, a depoſit in the public magazines of the productions of the earth; certificate or billets of depoſit which would form an authentic title for the diſpoſing proprietor, tranſferable without formalities at the current price, like all other public effects.

It is thus, that in Virginia means have been found to ſupply the want of money *, and to give at

eaſy in this particular, to do ſtill better than England does. We ought to profit by its example with regard to another article. In according an excluſive privilege to the Engliſh Eaſt India Company, Government has obliged it to export for China and the Indies, wool, tin, &c. to a conſiderable amount. Our new Eaſt India Company ſhould alſo be obliged to export her wines, brandies, &c. but it has interrupted the exportation of the wines of Provence, which private merchants began to make with ſucceſs, to the Eaſt Indies; this proves that companies are as pernicious interiorly to productions, as exteriorly to the extenſion and progreſs of exterior commerce.

* The Virginians have given another example which proves how eaſy it is to do without money. Many countries near to the Ohio, having

at the time of reaping, a real and uſeful value to tobacco, which, without that, waiting for a demand, lies heavy upon the proprietor.

This is not the place to examine this idea profoundly, neither to deſtroy the objections which will be made againſt it. This project may conſtitute the matter of a memoir by itſelf. I give here nothing more than the title.*

People

having none of it, the general aſſembly reſolved, they ſhould pay their quota of imports in hemp and flax, which ſhould be depoſited in the public magazines.

* If it were wiſhed that this project ſhould ſucceed, it would be abſolutely neceſſary to put away all poſſibility of an abuſe unpuniſhed. It would perhaps be neceſſary, that government ſhould take no part, nor have any influence in it. This precaution will be exclaimed againſt, but let us once more caſt our eyes upon England. If there be a government upon earth whoſe hands are tied, whoſe ſteps are watched, whoſe actions are brought to light, to public cenſure, and, conſequently, whoſe ſecret attempts are leſs to be feared by the people, it is that of England. See what the aſtoniſhing Miniſter who is now at the head of affairs, propoſes to hinder the intervention and influence of the Engliſh government in the new plan of redemption of the public effects and of their decreaſe. He inſiſts, that the commiſſioners who ſhall be charged with it, ſhall be always independent of government; that they ſhall be public agents, and that no force ſhall conſtrain them to alienate from its object the money deſtined to pay off or leſſen the public debt.

This miniſter clearly perceived, that the confidence of the people ought to be gained at any price, for the eſtabliſhment which exiſts but by confidence; and that in ſuch a caſe, the ſacrifice of power would ſignify nothing to a government, which is really willing to prevent abuſes.

The advantages reſulting from a plan like this are viſible. Public depoſitories would ſupply the defect of ability in thoſe who could

not

People in the United States, complain of an abuſe in the commerce of French wines, which abuſe, it is of importance to remedy in the moſt ſpeedy manner, if we would not deſtroy the commerce in its origin. Illicit commerce produced there before the revolution, good Bourdeaux wine, becauſe it *is a property of ſmuggling to give that which is of a ſuperior quality, and at a cheaper rate.*

Now, ſince the peace, wines ſent from France have not been, as it is aſſerted, of a good quality. It is poſſible that from greedineſs, they may ſometimes have been adulterated. But this tranſient abuſe which the merchant may eaſily deſtroy whenever he pleaſes, by chuſing in the United States, commiſſioners whoſe reputation is untouched; this

not lay up the productions of the earth. They would prevent ſquandering, loſſes, and ſcarcity, and eſtabliſh a more conſtant uniformity in prices as well as in quantities: want of confidence would at firſt perhaps hinder the uſe of theſe magazines, caves, or cellars of theſe public reſervoirs. But this would not long be the caſe, if ſincerity, order and oeconomy reigned in theſe eſtabliſhments. It is an advantage which might have been procured by means of provincial adminiſtrations, and which perhaps will never be enjoyed but under their auſpices.

With reſpect to the *billets* or *notes of commodities or productions*, it is ſeen how greatly they would encreaſe national riches, how quickly the miſery of the peaſants would diſappear, if theſe notes circulated as value in commerce, and if the vine-dreſſer could change his note of depoſit for productions of which he was in need. The monopoly of rich cultivators would then be overturned; of cultivators who ſuck up the whole ſubſiſtance of the vine-dreſſer, and, by avaricious advances, reduces him to their will.

this abuſe, I ſay, ought not to ſtop the exportations of France.—Wine, if it be good, will always find conſumers.—Nothing but intelligence and ſincerity are neceſſary to ſucceed in this, for nature has done the reſt for France.

The Americans prefer, in general, the wine which is carried to them in bottles, becauſe they believe it leſs ſubject to become ſharp, or to change on the voyage. On the firſt view, it ſeems advantageous to France to furniſh its wines with this envelope, becauſe it is a new opening for its glaſs-ware. But if it be recollected, what a prodigious quantity of combuſtibles glaſs manufactures require, to the ſenſible deſtruction of foreſts, it appears imprudent to encourage a commerce which cannot but augment it rapidly. At leaſt, before it be encouraged, it would be neceſſary to have very certain accounts of the number of glaſs manufactories in the kingdom, of their conſumption of wood and charcoal, of their produce and exportation, and finally of our foreſts and mines.

SECTION II.

Brandy.

The rapid progreſs lately made in Chymiſtry, has diſcovered in moſt of the fruits of the earth, the ſalts and ſpirits which conſtitute the eſſence of brandy; this diſcovery has been turned to advantage;

age; there reſults from it a conſiderable abatement in the price of that liquor, that is to ſay a very great evil; this proves, by the way, that there are diſcoveries in phyſics, which ſhould not be revealed without having firſt conſidered their moral and political effects, and having indicated to government, the means of preventing their inconveniencies; is alſo proves, that a chymiſt ought not to be a chymiſt only, but a politician alſo.

The brandies of France are generally looked upon as the beſt, that is to ſay, the moſt delicate and leaſt pernicious: therefore they obtain the preference with people in eaſy circumſtances.

A great deal of brandy is conſumed by the common people; but this is counter-ballanced at home and abroad by ſpirits drawn from grain, fruit, or ſugar.

Rum, which is produced from the latter, has had, and ever will have in the United States, the preference over our brandies, by reaſon of its cheapneſs. The Americans, eſpecially the Boſtonians, import melaſſes from the ſugar iſlands and diſtil it, and independently of their conſumption, they re-ſell a great part of it to the inhabitants of the ſame iſlands, who cannot diſtil it for want of combuſtibles.

Beſide rum, the Americans make ſtrong ſpirits from grain, potatoes, &c. They are indebted for this to the Iriſh and Germans who have gone to

ſettle in the United States. A pernicious preſent thoſe emigrants have made them.

The cheapneſs in Ireland, of ſpirits made from grain, place them within the reach of the pooreſt man. The loweſt claſſes of ſociety uſe them to an incredible exceſs; and this exceſs contributes not a little to give that quarrelſome humour which characteriſes the Iriſh, to plunge them into ſtupidity, and hinder them from riſing to that degree of proſperity to which the liberty of commerce, they have lately obtained, ought to carry them.

The Americans would already have experienced a part of that degradation, of which the exceſſive uſe of ſtrong liquors is the cauſe, if they were not almoſt all proprietors, in eaſy circumſtances and fathers of families: if inſtruction and morals were not more generally propagated among them than among any other people: and, finally, if the quick and conſiderable profits which workmen there obtain by the high price of workmanſhip, did not give them a ſalutary ambition which keeps them from intemperance.*

Thoſe

* The temperance of the Americans proves, *that a man is honeſt when he is well off.* He is neither vicious nor criminal, *except when he is wretched.* What therefore is the firſt cauſe of his vices and crimes? The cauſe of his wretchedneſs. The genealogy of almoſt all crimes is—no property or want of employ—cauſe of wretchedneſs of the people—wretchedneſs the cauſe of drunkenneſs—drunkenneſs the cauſe of quarrels—of idleneſs, of miſery, of thefts.—Thefts cauſe impriſonment and capital puniſhments.

Thoſe of the United States * where the people have gone from ſimple and primitive manners, where luxury begins to reign, where ſlavery ſtill exiſts, are daily witneſſes to the ravages cauſed by the exceſſive uſe of ſpirits made from grain. †

A long habit is difficult and often impoſſible to ſhake off, eſpecially when it procures enjoyments. Therefore,

The firſt link only to which a defect of property is attached, remains to be remarked. It is not neceſſary to name it. But it ariſes from this genealogy, that in the actual order of things, the people being drawn into vices and crimes, are leſs culpable than they are imagined; conſequently, they ought not to be ſo ſeverely puniſhed, and that government ſhould ſuppreſs too ſevere pains. This truth cannot be too often repeated, and it ought to be joined to every circumſtance when opportunity offers, ſeeing that the liſt of bloody executions is every where augmented, and that narrow minds which ſee the atrocity only of the crime, without perceiving its cauſe, inceſſantly demand blood for expiation. There would be but few ſcaffolds if none but real criminals mounted them.

* See Smith's Voyage to the Southern United States, where a deſcription of the life of the Carolinians is given. This author makes it appear, that they drink to exceſs the ſtrongeſt liquors, although the climate be extremely hot. By this they abridge their lives, and appear old in the flower of youth. This is one of the cauſes of the mortality among the Engliſh in the Eaſt Indies; they have introduced there, the uſe of wines and ſtrong liquors, and they are victims to them. The Indians make no uſe of theſe, and live to a great age.

In quoting Smith, the European readers ought to be put on their guard againſt Engliſh partiality which reigns throughout the work.

† All brandies, except thoſe from ſugar and wine are pernicious, eſpecially when new. They cannot be drank without immediately diſordering the body. The moſt trifling exceſs is ſufficient to cauſe death.

Therefore, it is not to be expected, that the Americans will ever renounce the uſe of theſe liquors. The philoſopher ſighs at this; commercial nations which turn to profit the misfortunes and caprices of mankind, ſtrive to take advantage of it. France will have the advantage * if ſhe can bring it about to reduce the price of brandies to the level of that of rum. Government in order to aim at this point, has already perceived the neceſſity of lowering the duties on the exportation of theſe ſpirits.

But ought it to favour, with ſo much complaiſance, the diſtillation and exportation of brandies? I do not think ſo; this new opinion ſeems to be a paradox; it will ceaſe to appear ſo, when it ſhall have been examined with attention.

The diſtillation of brandies, cauſes a great decay of combuſtibles: one great evil in a country where combuſtibles daily become more rare. †

* Lord Sheffield agrees, that the brandies of France are preferable to thoſe of Spain and Portugal, of which there is nevertheleſs ſome conſumption in the United States.

† All the provinces of France, thoſe even to which nature has refuſed the means of tranſporting their wood to others, feel the ſcarcity of this article. Lorrain may be quoted as an inſtance. The foreſts of that province decay, as it is reported, in the proſpectus of a price upon pit-coal, propoſed by the academy of Nanci—the dearneſs of wood is exceſſive there. The cauſe of this inconvenience is not difficult to aſſign; it is the neceſſary conſequence of forges, glaſs-houſes, ſalt-pits, &c. The academy requires pit-coal to be fought for, to ſerve inſtead of wood. A more ſimple means would be to deſtroy forges and glaſs-houſes, and to get iron and glaſs from America.

The exportation of brandy produces but little to the revenue. To encourage it, it has been neceſſary to take off the impoſt, which at preſent is no more than five ſols per hogſhead, whilſt wine pays a duty of at leaſt an hundred ſols, and in the Bordelois from that ſum to twenty-eight livres.*

Government ought to have done the reverſe, to have reduced the duties on wines, and augmented them on brandies.

The exportation of brandies, is prejudicial to the conſumption of our wines; for it is the baſis of all made wines, in countries where wine is not produced. It is put into a great quantity of water; to which is added, bay berries every where to be found. Wine brandies are indiſpenſible in this fabrication, no other can ſupply their place, becauſe they only can give to artificial wines, the winy taſte which is eſſential to make them drinkable.

What immenſe gain to ſtrangers in this proceſs —and what loſs to France. A barrel of brandy which pays a trifling duty on exportation, whoſe tranſport coſts but little on account of its contracted bulk, may be added to five or ſix barrels of water, which coſt nothing, and by the aid of ſugared

* Government has, ſince this work has been written, ſuſpended the duties paid by the wines of Bourdeaux and Languedoc. This ſuſpenſion was granted upon a remonſtrance, importing that there was an enormous quantity of wines at Bourdeaux, and which the holders dared not export, that they might not be obliged to advance the high duties. This proves, that impoſts occaſions a ſtagnation.

ſugared ingredients, which give colours, may enter into competition with ſix barrels of wine, that pay conſiderable duties on exportation; and whoſe exportation, and tranſport is very expenſive.

Therefore, in diſtilling and exporting brandies, we work for the intereſt of our rivals; we give them an eaſy means of doing without our wines. What folly! What would people ſay of an Alchymiſt, who, having found the philoſopher's ſtone, ſhould communicate his ſecret to his rivals, who would make uſe of it to his prejudice.

And yet this operation ſo prejudicial to France, has been favoured by government. It encourages diſtilleries; that is, it raiſes up enemies againſt the meliorating vineyards and wines; and, eſpecially againſt the art of preſerving the latter. It would be much more prudent and advantageous to diſcourage diſtilleries. In fact, the diſtillation of brandies, is for the vineyard proprietor, a laſt reſource, which proves his ruin.†

† In the Orleanois, ſix barrels at leaſt, of wine are neceſſary to make one of brandy. The wine of this country, when it is drinkable, is ſold on an average, at thirty livres a barrel. The ſix barrels produce one hundred and thirty livres, and reduced to brandy they ſcarcely produce eighty. Thus the proprietor ſuffers a loſs of one hundred. Brandies ſent abroad, where they diminiſh the ſale of wine, can bear no exportation duty. Wines on the contrary, pay a conſiderable one. Let theſe calculations be anſwered. The Engliſh themſelves ought not to admit the brandies of France, becauſe, in filling England with artificial wines, they are prejudicial to their wine duties. The prohibition of brandies, would, under this double aſpect, be advantageous to both countries.

Beſides the profit which would ariſe to commerce from this operation, the revenue would be greatly benefited. Receiving nothing on the exportation of brandy, it would receive conſiderably on that of wines; for without diminiſhing their conſumption, it would preſerve a part of the duties of exportation. Notwithſtanding this duty, there would not be leſs ſold, becauſe no competition is to be feared.

Theſe duties might be applied to encourage the cultivation of vines, and the art of preſerving wine. Better prepared, leſs burthened with taxes, and being cheaper, theſe wines would have a greater conſumption in the United States, and cauſe the uſe of brandies to be aboliſhed; a greater foreign conſumption would employ more hands in cultivation, and render the vine-dreſſer leſs wretched.

In a word, our brandies will never have a great call in the United States, and they are prejudicial to the conſumption of wines. It is therefore neceſſary to diſcourage the diſtillery of them. If wines become cheaper, if they be better prepared, they will ſell better. Therefore the preparation and exportation of them ought to be encouraged.

SECTION

SECTION III.

Oils, Olives, Dry-fruits, &c.

Theſe articles are ſo many wants with the Americans of eaſy fortune, and eſpecially thoſe in the northern States. Our ſouthern Provinces, which produce ſuch delicious fruits, cannot, in this reſpect fear any competition. They are alſo articles which have hitherto beſt ſucceded in adventures made from Marſeilles.

Moreover, all that Europe will be able to furniſh of them, will find room in the United States; they will accompany our wines and we can join with the ſame eaſe and certainty of ſale, perfumeries, anchovies, verdigriſe, &c. as well as an hundred other little things taken by the Engliſh from Marſeilles, and of which they have created a want to the Americans.

Lord Sheffield, in his work, makes Spain, Portugal and Italy, furniſh the United States with theſe commodities. I wiſh he had been ſincere enough to give the advantage to France. France is ſo generally known to ſell theſe productions in the States of America, that it is equally aſtoniſhing, this writer ſhould have been ignorant of it, or ſilent upon the ſubject. This fact, by proving

his partiality, ought to put readers upon their guard againſt his aſſertions.

SECTION IV.

CLOTHS.

People governed by a free conſtitution are naturally grave and deliberate. They prefer, in every thing they uſe, goodneſs to elegance, what is ſolid to that which is ſubject to the caprices of mode. Therefore as long as the independent Americans enjoy their excellent conſtitution, they will prefer cloaths of cloth to thoſe of the moſt brilliant ſtuffs.

Moreover its beauty, pliancy, ſtrength and duration, render it more generally fit for this uſe in any climate whatſoever; cloth ſecures the body from the exceſſes of cold as well as from thoſe of heat. It reſiſts rain; in a word, it unites every convenience; and if it be the univerſal cloathing of people in a middling ſtate, it offers equally to the rich, but reaſonable man, a choice proper to ſatisfy his taſte, and to proportion his expences to his means.

The manufacture of cloths, is in the number of thoſe complicated manufactures, which employ throughout the year a great number of workmen by

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the day. Therefore it will not be ſuitable to the Americans, ſo long as that claſs of men, which furniſhes theſe workmen, ſhall be able to employ themſelves more uſefully for the States, and *more nobly* † in the clearing of lands, and in cultivation in general.

A manufacture of woollen ſtuffs, proper for the cloathing of the country proprietor, his family and ſervants, may, without doubt, be aſſociated into the labours of the field; but theſe kind of manufactures, although very important in themſelves, can only be applied to coarſe and unfiniſhed ſtuffs. The interrupted leiſure of the peaſant permits him to do nothing which is complicated. Card, ſpin, weave and bleach, is all that he can do.* If it be

† It would without doubt, be more proper to ſay republicanly; but this word *(republicainement)* does not exiſt in our language. What of that? It muſt be created. Theſe words, *noble, nobility, nobly*, can only give falſe ideas when applied to facts which concern a Republic, becauſe they are always preſented with the bad envelope which the prejudices of monarchies give them, and recall the idea of men or orders ſuperior to others, which would make it believed that ſuch a diſtinction exiſted in a Republic that is founded only upon equality. This reflection confirms what has been ſaid in another place, upon the neceſſity of making a new political and moral vocabulary for the American Republics.

* As long as there are lands to be cleared, the leiſure which agriculture affords will be very ſhort, becauſe every ſeaſon is proper for this employ, except when too great a quantity of ſnow ſtops the work. The intervals of leiſure become regularly eſtabliſhed, when the ſyſtem of cultivation is fixed, and the ſoil entirely diſpoſed thereto. Then undertakings are calculated upon their duration; but in general, ſimple work which requires no workſhop, no conſiderable apparatus, is that only which agrees with agriculture.

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neceſſary for him to go beyond theſe, he will find a greater advantage in ſelling his raw materials, or even with their firſt preparations, if they be ſimple, and to draw from the manufactures, properly ſo called, the articles of which he is in need.

Therefore the United States have not only need of ſtrangers for the cloths which they uſe, but the more their firſt ſteps ſhall be wiſe, reaſonable, and calculated according to the ſtate of things, the more the want of foreign cloths will be continued.

Now why ſhould not France hope to furniſh cloths to the Americans? Our firſt efforts, badly combined, and the ſpecies of diſcredit in which our cloths are, ought not to diſcourage her.

We owe little gratitude to thoſe of our ſpeculators, who firſt, and at the beginning of the revolution, diſperſed our cloths in the United States. If one ſpark of public ſpirit had animated them, they would have perceived the precious and honourable ſervice which they were able to render to their country in theſe firſt adventures, by giving to the Americans a great idea of the ſtate of our manufactures. Theſe people were well diſpoſed by the ſuccour France gave them, to cheriſh its inhabitants, to eſteem their character and receive their productions. They were well diſpoſed to abjure the contempt and averſion with which the Engliſh had inſpired them for their rivals and their productions, and to give them the preference in every thing. Why has avarice, by a miſerable calcula-

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tion, rendered theſe good diſpoſitions of no effect? Men were willing to gain, to gain greatly; to make what is called a good ſtroke, in taking advantage of the diſtreſs of the Americans, and forcing them to take thoſe commodities, which were unfit for every other market.*

This diſhoneſty has counterbalanced the ſervice rendered them; for the imprudent and wretched young man, whoſe throat is cut by an uſurer, owes him no acknowledgement. A greater evil to France has been the conſequence—her cloths have loſt their reputation in the United States. But let the Americans undeceive themſelves; let them not attribute to the nation, the fault of a few individuals; let them not have a bad opinion of our cloths, becauſe ſome bad ones have been ſent to them. The ſame accident would have happened to Engliſh cloths, if in a like caſe, there had been Engliſh merchants avaricious enough and ſo far ſtrangers to the public good, as to ſend their refuſe to the United States.§

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* I do not accuſe any body; but I can certify, upon the authority of the moſt reſpectable eye witneſſes, that ſome of theſe outcaſt cloths fell at the end of ſix months wear into ſhreds.

The Americans were ſo ſtruck by this, that Mr. Laurens, after having received two millions, which France lent to the United States, employed a part of that ſum to buy Engliſh cloths. Complaints were made, he anſwered that it was his duty to buy better and cheaper cloths. Without doubt he thereby fulfilled the generous intentions of France. *See the obſervations of Lord Sheffield.*

§ Engliſh merchants love as well as others to get money, and there are among them thoſe who, for the love of gain would tram-

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The Americans who come among us, ſtudy the nature of the intercourſe which we ſhall one day have with the United States; they know that our manufacturers poſſeſs all the means which give to Engliſh cloths their reputation; that they make them in the ſame manner, and that the ſuperfines are ſuperior to thoſe of England; that in general dying is better underſtood with us and carried to a greater perfection: in ſhort, that it depends but on ſome circumſtances eaſy to be got over, to make the cheapneſs of our workmanſhip aſſure us the preference to the Engliſh with reſpect to cloths.

Why do our manufactures of cloths contend with ſo great a diſadvantage againſt thoſe of England? It is here neceſſary to develope the cauſe; it is the ſureſt means of encouraging government to take every meaſure, which will, without extraordi-

ple under foot every patriotic conſideration. But the public ſpirit of the generality of them puts, in England more than elſewhere, a check upon the ſhameful enterprizes of avarice; conſequently the greater part of the merchants never abandon the national intereſts in their ſpeculations, neither the honor of Engliſh commerce, nor the reputation of their manufactures. It is thus they are become the principle agents for furniſhing every ſpecies of manufacture to the whole world. When it happens that any of them ſacrifice national reputation to views of private intereſt, honeſt patriots generally prefer accuſations againſt them before a public tribunal, and then the culprit is not ſuffered to anſwer by clandeſtine memoirs to public and ſubſtantiated accuſations; this obſcure and cowardly reſource is held in too great contempt to be made uſe of. There remains nothing to the culprit but ſilence or falſhood; in both caſes he is diſhonoured in the opinion of the public, which affects and marks every individual, without reſpect to rank, power or riches.

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nary or forced expedients that are of ſhort duration, reſtore us to all the advantages we have received from nature. Confidence will be reſtored to the Americans when they ſee the few obſtacles we have to ſurmount.

Lord Sheffield, in avowing the ſuperiority of our fine cloths, and of their cheapneſs, obſerves, that the greateſt conſumption of the Americans is of common cloths, with reſpect to which France cannot enter into a competition with England. And he draws from it the judicious conſequence, that the inconvenience of dividing the demands to compoſe aſſortments, and the conſideration of the ſmall quantity of fine cloth neceſſary to form them, will cauſe theſe to be ordered in England, notwithſtanding the advantage there would be in getting them from France.

But why ſhould we not furniſh common cloths to the United States; we, whoſe workmanſhip is at a lower price than that of the Engliſh? It is becauſe in common cloths, cheapneſs of the raw material is more eſſential than that of workmanſhip, and that the Engliſh have wools not only better but cheaper than we have.* And for why? Becauſe they gather their own wool, and that except the wools of Spain indiſpenſable to ſuperfine cloths, far from ſtanding in need of foreign wools, they

* Engliſh wool is worth from 14 to 16 ſols a pound, and the fineſt is worth 17 or 18.

Note. The author certainly means from 28 to 30 ſols.

TRANSLATOR.

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can even ſpare a conſiderable ſurplus to other nations, notwithſtanding the prodigious uſe they make of them in their own manufactures,* whilſt we are obliged to import from abroad more than one half of the wool neceſſary to ours, which are without compariſon, leſs numerous and conſiderable than thoſe of England.

* In ſuppoſing 35,000,000 ſheep, in England, according to M. la Platiere, which render one with the other, at leaſt ſix pounds of wool a year, by putting the 210 millions of wool, at 15 ſols only a pound, reſults a property upon the ſpot of 157,500,000 livres a year. What is it afterwards, when, to this property, we add the benefits of manufacture, of contraband, &c. &c.

Mr. Roland de la Platiere, author of two volumes of the *Encyclopedie Methodique*, entitled *Manufactures Arts et Metiers*, has calculated from obſervations made upon the ſpot, that thirty-five millions of ſheep were fed in the paſtures of England, Scotland, and Ireland. This author appears to poſſeſs the true means of acquiring information; he has diſplayed too much underſtanding in the ſervices which he has rendered his country, for people not to have the greateſt confidence in what he aſſerts. A ſound logic, a courageous patriotiſm, a juſtneſs of mind characterize his writings. He ſees the cauſes of evil, and what is more rare, has the courage to publiſh them. His uncouth, but energic ſtyle, diſcovers a mind too profoundly ſtruck with abuſes to employ himſelf about words. Theſe are the precious men who ſhould be encouraged. Theſe are the writings which ſhould be read, day and night, by honeſt and zealous adminiſtrators; who, not confining themſelves to the ſterile and weak deſire of doing good, dare to undertake the reform of abuſes, and perſevere in their undertaking. M. de la Platiere has been looked upon as a man of pretenſions. This title ought not to offend him, it was alſo given at London, to Dr. Price, when he predicted the loſs of the colonies. The miniſterial heads of that country laughed at the prophet, but the event proved he was right.

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But is it impoſſible to acquire to France the advantage which that Iſle enjoys? No, certainly. France, ſays an author which I quote with pleaſure, manufactures to the greateſt extent woollen ſtuffs. " She conſumes a great many of " them; exports as many; might export double " the quantity, and more eaſily prevent the intro- " duction of foreign ones.* She does not grow " half the wools ſhe conſumes. She might fur- " niſh all her manufactures with them, and even " thoſe of other nations; ſhe obtains mixed qua-

* Let not people be deceived; the author of this article is too well informed, knows men and things too well to have a great confidence in the little means of prohibition, which only increaſe ſmuggling, without preventing the importation of prohibited merchandize. He pretends not to prevent it but by making a judicious and profitable uſe of all our national advantages. When a nation like France, has every thing, and can do every thing as well and at a cheaper rate than any other nation, all the barriers, guards and gibbets, erected to prevent ſmuggling, whoſe progreſs is not prevented, do more harm than good to the exterior of nation reſources. They are ſuccours to idleneſs, to a ſpirit of monopoly, and by no means to that of induſtry. This is animated by the preſence of articles manufactured abroad, when it is perceived that no inſurmountable obſtacle is in the way of that which it manufactures to the ſame degree of perfection.

Moſt merchants or manufacturers ſpeak, either through intereſt or ignorance, a doctrine quite contrary. Their advice is, in general, very much ſuſpected on this head; ever ready to aſk for excluſive privileges; inceſſantly catching at thoſe ſpeculations which are uſeful to the few only, and prejudicial to the many, there are few of them capable of that ſpirit of generalization, of thoſe generous principles, which would at once be the cauſe of proſperity and glory to ſuch a nation as France.

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" lities only by a bad cultivation; ſhe might have " of every ſort and quality. However middling " they may be, they come twice as dear as thoſe of " England; they might be reduced to the ſame " rate. Workmanſhip is much dearer in Eng- " land; lands are there at a higher price; yet " the Engliſh make continual and lucrative ſpecu- " lations upon the growth and commerce of wools; " as well as upon the fabrication of ſtuffs; whilſt " our farmers are diſcouraged from the rearing their " flocks, and our manufacturers in their enterpri- " zes." This deſcription is not a declamation; the ſame hand which has traced it, has left nothing to be deſired on the indication of the true means of putting France in a ſituation not to fear for her cloths, a competition of foreign manufactures. She can improve her wools, and render them abundant; her ſoil is proper for producing the different qualities neceſſary to the different kind of ſtuffs; and with reſpect to the art of manufacturing, and to that kind of proceſs which gives reputation to cloths, &c. I repeat it, that nothing is wanting to us, and we have over and above all nations, cheapneſs of workmanſhip. Let thoſe who doubt of this, read the articles, *Draps*,* *Laine*, *Mouton*, in the *Encyclopédie*

* We recommend to all adminiſtrators, and to every one zealous for his country, the reading and meditating of theſe articles, whoſe importance cannot be called in queſtion, and whoſe details will prove more and more how greatly provincial adminiſtrations would contribute

Encyclopedie Methodique; their confidence will be ſo much the greater, as the author relates what he was charged to ſee, and what he has ſeen; and that his deſcriptions are given with too much exactitude, neatneſs and intelligence, to put him in the rank of ſuperficial obſervers.

He predicts to France, that ſhe will ſoon be deprived of the greateſt part of her foreign wools, whoſe void will cauſe immediately a great number of trades to fail; and certainly this danger preſſes, ſeeing that there is no European nation which does not perceive the advantage and neceſſity of converting them into cloths and ſtuffs.

This is another reaſon for giving to the formation of the commerce with the United States, the greateſt encouragements and facilities. The Ame-

tribute to the proſperity and glory of France. We feel at the ſame time pain and pleaſure, on reading theſe articles *Draps*, *Laine*, *Mouton*; pain on ſeeing how far we are behind in the development of our fundamental reſources; ſatisfaction, when thinking of the immenſe debt which overwhelms us, on the obligation we are under to diſcharge it. We ſee reſources of riches and revenues which yet remain to be opened, if we be willing to eſtabliſh the credit which improves every thing.

I ought not to finiſh this note, without doing juſtice, in part, to that immenſe undertaking of the *Encyclopedie*. If all the volumes were written with that energy and information, which appears in thoſe digeſted and reduced to order by M. de la Platiere, nothing but eulogium would be due to them. But all are not alike, and what intrepid mortal will have the courage, in order to diſcover the truth, to go over forty volumes in quarto? This ſolid idea muſt always be recurred to:—*write elementary books and not dictionaries.*

ricans will have, as I have already obſerved, a much better employ for their time and induſtry, than to concern themſelves about manufactures; yet the multiplication of woolly animals, will be among them a neceſſary conſequence of their clearing lands, and their exiſtence as huſbandmen, which is more preferable to them than any other life. They will therefore have a great deal of wool to export, a great deal to ſend into Europe, to be manufactured there. Theſe wools will be perfect, becauſe the Engliſh method of rearing flocks is naturalized in the United States, and the ſoil is there excellent.

The Northern States gathered a great deal of wool before the war; it was as cheap there as in England; it will come to us cheaper when it forms a part of our returns, becauſe it will not be charged with the extraordinary expences and riſques of a prohibited exportation, under the moſt rigorous pains.

Finally, if Britiſh wools be neceſſary to us, which ought not to be doubted of, let us expect to ſee the exportation of them every day become more difficult. We ſee England carry on againſt ſmuggling a war the moſt proper to deſtroy it. This judicious nation, awakened by the enormity of its debt, which it is its firſt duty, as well as its greateſt intereſt to diſcharge, conſiders attentively the prejudice which ſmuggling does to the public revenue; and not being yet able to do without the produc-

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tion of theſe duties, whoſe enormity gives riſe to ſmuggling, ſhe has fixed them upon objects which leave no room for fraud, aggrieve not the poorer claſſes of the nation, and which admit of an eaſy and little expenſive collection. The ſmuggling of tea is already deſtroyed by changing the duties which this leaf paid, for a new tax upon windows;* and the excellence of this operation being actually out of doubt, the ſame thing will be done in reſpect to other taxes. Now, from the moment that there will be nothing to ſell to Engliſh ſmugglers, they will no longer bring us the articles which cannot go out of England but by contraband, and attended with very great riſques, or at leaſt it will only be by rendering them much dearer, as they are deprived of the advantage of returns.

Theſe events, more intereſting in our rivalſhip, than the extenſion of the Britiſh dominions, ſhould withdraw us from our languor. It is not by beating and killing from time to time a few thouſands of Engliſh and Frenchmen, that we ſhall hinder a competition diſadvantageous to us. Men are ſoon replaced, eſpecially in England, where a free conſtitution calls them from every quarter; and theſe wars ſerve only to cheriſh fooliſh antipathies, pro-

* The tax upon windows has been a good deal joked upon in London, and upon the continent. Mr. Pitt left the wits to amuſe themſelves, and continued his operation. Its advantages are now demonſtrated. It is to be wiſhed, that ſick Governments would adopt the commutative taxes, which would comfort them.

jects of vengeance or invaſion, which, when executed, render thoſe who conquer ſtill more miſerable.

It is in the avocations of peace, in the induſtry it favors, in the views it permits to be realized, that we ſhall find, joined to public happineſs, all that the intereſt of our rivality requires. It is in the boſom of peace that we ſhall be able to improve our cloths, encreaſe our wool and our ſheep; there are an hundred means of doing theſe things; I will confine myſelf to one of them; it has hitherto been treated very lightly, it is, however, at the ſame time of the higheſt conſequence. I ſpeak of the deſtruction of wolves.

The abſolute deſtruction of wolves in the Britiſh Iſles is, without doubt, the firſt cauſe of the great quantity of wool found there. A beginning is neceſſary to every thing, and when a poor ruſtic could have two or three ſheep wandering in the country, without fear of their being loſt, or being obliged to watch them, it is clear that the multiplication of theſe animals muſt be very rapid; it will be ſlow on the continent, where dogs and ſhepherds are neceſſary, and conſequently great flocks will be requiſite.*

* The deſtruction of wolves, by rendering dogs and ſhepherds uſeleſs, has given to the flocks a tranquillity neceſſary to their increaſe; which tranquillity they cannot have with dogs, which inceſſantly harraſs them. Nature has but one law for every thing that has life; *nothing is well without liberty. No fecundity where this is wanting.*

But

But it has perhaps been too eaſily believed upon the continent that it was impoſſible to deſtroy wolves. I will ſay one word only upon the ſubject; if people in France would conſider that the death of one wolf is more important to the proſperity of the public than the Opera of Paris; and if in conſequence government would apply to the killing of French wolves, the ſame fund which it employs to make Automatons ſing and jump upon the ſtage, there would ſoon be no more wolves in France, and ſheep might propagate in peace, without dogs or ſhepherds, as in England.

It is even probable that two years expences of the Opera, would be ſufficient for that great and uſeful end, and that a recompenſe of five hundred crowns, well aſſured,* and punctually paid to him who

 ſhould

* I ſay ſolidly aſſured, and punctually paid; for want of theſe conditions, the moſt conſiderable recompenſes by edict or declaration, will not cauſe one ſtep to be taken, becauſe no one likes to be deceived.—The following is a fact, which will prove the neceſſity of paying recompenſes faithfully. Adminiſtration, by a humane, wiſe and political law, grants a third of the value of ſhip-wrecked merchandizes to him, who finding them, ſhall carry them to the regiſtry of the admiralty. There were at firſt ſome credulous perſons who, hoping for payment, reſtored ſcrupulouſly that which hazard had given them the poſſeſſion of. But afterwards it was perceived that theſe recompenſes were badly paid, after a long time and with great difficulty. The conſequence was, that which was ſo found was kept? afterwards half of it was ſold, or even two thirds, for ready money, indiſcriminately. The idea is natural, and no one can be blamed for acting accordingly. The peaſant or ſailor, who thus meets with any thing, is ſure of finding a purchaſer, who will give at leaſt

ſhould kill a wolf upon French ground, would for ever clear the kingdom of theſe animals. Five hundred crowns for the head of a wolf!* Yes! and although there were five hundred thouſand crowns a year to be paid, which is abſurd to imagine, the ſtate would ſtill make a good ſpeculation; undoubtedly better than that of many military expeditions, which have exhauſted our blood and treaſures.

It is, without doubt, of little conſequence to loſe one or two ſheep in a number of flocks; but it is

leaſt a third of its value in ready money. He will not, therefore, render the merchandize to the admiralty without being immediately paid this third; until then all the laws in the world will be uſeleſs. Can it be believed that our laws are abſurd enough to puniſh thoſe who are convicted of having found ſomething and of not having reſtored it.

* I will aſk pardon of the Gentlemen of the Louveterie‖—It is well known they have good brevets for deſtroying wolves. But have theſe killings by brevet ever been ſeriouſly calculated upon? What would become of the Louveterie if there were no wolves? I appeal to thoſe who have been witneſſes to the valiant expeditions againſt theſe animals. Who does not, on ſeeing them, call to mind the fable of the peaſant and his ſeigneur? I know alſo there are recompenſes propoſed for every head of a wolf. But could one believe, that this premium of government was the ſource of abuſes? There is a little diſtrict, the Sub delegate of which puts one day into his accounts the price of ten thouſand wolves heads. The quantity appeared a little extraordinary to the Miniſter. The affair was examined, the ſubaltern rogue was deprived of his office—This was again the fable of the aſs puniſhed, for having cropped in a meadow the breadth of his tongue.—He who prompted him to act, went unpuniſhed.

‖ *The Maſter of the French King's wolf-hounds, and his aſſociates.*

of

of the greateſt conſequence that a poor farmer ſhould have a few ſheep without being obliged to watch them! How ſhall we calculate? We know that ſlight impoſitions upon the people produce more than great ones upon the rich. When ſhall we know that there are more ſheep in France?—when every poor ruſtic will have it in his power to have a few of them; except when there ſhall be great proprietors only, and numerous flocks.

Let us be well convinced of this truth, that we ſhall never be able to enter into competition with the Engliſh with reſpect to cloths and woollen ſtuffs in general, until like them, we ſhall have encreaſed our flocks;* for if we are induſtrious, they are equally ſo, and have, moreover, raw materials cheap and in abundance.

The encreaſe of ſheep depends ſtill upon the means which muſt be created in France, upon the encreaſe of paſturage, upon the improvement of thoſe which exiſt, and upon a reform of the management of commons; (for Iam far from thinking they ought to be deſtroyed, eſpecially for the purpoſe of enriching great landed proprietors) upon the continual hurdling of ſheep in the open air, or at leaſt upon the ſalubrity of ſheep folds, made higher and more airy; upon the reform of the pernicious

* Who does not recollect how much the frightful ſcarcity for ſeveral years, of hay and other provender, diminiſhed the number of cattle in France? What a length of time will be neceſſary to repair this loſs, and what a proſpect for the manufacturer of cloths.

ſhortneſs of the term of leaſes; upon the reform of graſs, farm leaſes, whoſe ſyſtem is diſcouraging to the labourer; finally, it depends upon the French peaſant's, beſtowing more care upon his ſheep, and his treating them with greater humanity; his improving the breed, and deſtroying thoſe which degenerate. Theſe means are only indicated here, it is impoſſible to give a detail of them. Thoſe who wiſh for more information upon this head, may read the articles *Draps*, *Laine*, *Mouton*, &c. already quoted.

SECTION V.

LINENS.

There are two principal ſpecies of linen-drapery, which are ſub-divided into a multitude of others.

The firſt ſpecies contains linen properly ſo called; that is to ſay, linen which ſerves to make ſhirts, ſheets, table linen, and all the linen made uſe of for every purpoſe of cleanlineſs.

Theſe linens are made with hemp, flax or cotton; this laſt article is employed when the two former ones are ſcarce, it is ſometimes mixed with flax.

The manner of making theſe linens is very ſimple;

ple; they are made in all parts of Europe.* Thoſe countries where religions or political deſpotiſm diſcourages induſtry; where the numerous inſtitutions of charity, invented to divert the attention of deſpair from miſery, nouriſh idleneſs; and where the heat of the climate diſpoſes ſo much the more to inactivity, as there is no inducement to overcome it:

* If there be a country where the manufacture of linens is encouraged, it is in Ireland, particularly ſince its reſurrection into the political world. Parliament has eſtabliſhed a committee which is particularly employed about this manufacture, and which grants very conſiderable ſuccours to manufacturers. There is one who has obtained more than thirty thouſand pounds ſterling from government, and whoſe manufacture employed two thouſand men and women, and ſix hundred children.

This committee names inſpectors to examine the ſtate of manufactures, and afterwards to make reports, or give a general deſcription of their ſituation, of the number of workmen they employ, of their produce, reſources, wants, &c.‖

Still more has been done in Ireland, to encourage the commerce of linen; great edifices have been built, and deſtined to receive them, as well as thoſe who come to offer them for ſale. The moſt conſiderable market being at Dublin, three or four times a year: linen merchants from the North, who have bleach yards, come to Dublin with their aſſortments. They find in theſe edifices, places for their linens and for themſelves to lodge in, all at no expence.—They meet Engliſh buyers or others, who go there to gather together all their purchaſes.—Like depoſitories are eſtabliſhed in the North; they are eſſentially neceſſary to thoſe manufactures, the articles of which are gathered in the country.—Where they exiſt, expences are leſs, and work is better paid for.

‖ *When theſe inſpectors are honeſt, and men of underſtanding, their reports are evidences of ſucceſs. Then example has a ſingular influence upon induſtry.*

theſe

theſe countries are the only ones, wherein this manufacture does not merit the attention of the political obſerver.

Every where elſe, the country people employ, more or leſs; the leiſure which their kind of life affords them, and the hands of ſedéntary individuals, to ſpin and weave linen. Moſt of the farmers and proprietors who enjoy a little eaſe, or who are not afraid of letting it appear, ſow hemp or flax, and draw from their ſoil and the work of their hands, the linen which covers their bodies and ſupplies their family.

The more activity, eaſe and ſurety there are in the property of labour, the more conſiderable this manufacture is. But in no place is this ſort of linen-drapery the product of a regularly eſtabliſhed manufactory, except it be for the preparing and bleaching of that which is deſtined to paſs through the hands of ſhopkeepers.

Markets and fairs are the places where the undertakers of theſe bleacheries, and the traders who pay for bleaching, buy of the country people raw linens, or thoſe partly bleached. Hence it is, that theſe linens appear in general ſo cheap to perſons who know how to calculate workmanſhip.

The Engliſh have added other cauſes to thoſe which produce low-priced workmanſhip: their aſtoniſhing induſtry, their obſerving genius, their ever calculating mind, have invented for the ſpinning, &c. of cotton, and for weaving, ſeveral machines which

which ſtill ſurpaſs the cheapneſs to be expected from the leiſure of the inhabitants of the country.

As theſe machines are inſenſibly introduced into countries, it may be expected that the low price of linen drapery will be every where eſtabliſhed.

But notwithſtanding the multiplication of theſe machines, nations which groan under a bad government, or are grown ruſty in old and wretched habits, will always depend, for that article of neceſſity, upon thoſe which, having eſtabliſhed bounds to their government, but none for their induſtry, that muſt conſtantly encreaſe.*

It reſults from theſe facts, that the United States will always have, in proportion to the encreaſe of their population and culture, leſs recourſe to ſtrangers for that principal kind of linen drapery, whoſe manufacture is ſo well aſſociated with the labours of the field. †

* "It is very true" ſays M. Roland de la Platiere, (Article Toiles) "that theſe machines begin to be every where known—but the "genius which invented them, the moment they ſhall be known, "will invent others more expeditious and perfect, and in this reſ- "pect, as well as in many others, there is no nation upon earth "which will not for ever remain inferior to England."

† "The American women," ſays the author of the American Cultivator—"are renowned for their induſtry in the conduct of "their houſes; they ſpin, and cauſe to be ſpun, a great deal of "wool or flax; they would loſe their reputation and be deſpiſed, "if their whole family were not almoſt entirely cloathed with the "cloth and linen made in the houſe: if the whole interior of their "ruſtic habitation did not bear evident marks of their cleanlineſs and "induſtry."

Very

Very fine ſpecies of linens muſt nevertheleſs be excepted; they are deſtined for luxury, and the individuals employed about them, are condemned to vegetate miſerably in cities, rolling perpetually in the ſame circle of mechanical labours.* It is the unhappy fate of all thoſe who are born in Europe without property, and will not debaſe themſelves by domeſtic labour.

The United States, where laborious individuals may with ſo much facility become proprietors, are far from that degradation; and if they are wiſe, they will have for a long time, the happineſs not to ſee ſpun or woven among them, thoſe delicate kinds

* Manufactures are much boaſted of, becauſe children are employed therein from their moſt tender age; that is to ſay, that men congratulate themſelves upon making early martyrs of theſe innocent creatures; for is it not a torment to theſe poor little beings, whom nature commands us to permit to take the air and their ſports, until they are of riper years, and their ſtrength is become conſiderable—Is it not a torment to them to be a whole day, and almoſt every day of their lives employed at the ſame work, in an obſcure and infected priſon? Muſt not the wearineſs and vexation which they ſuffer, obſtruct the opening of their phyſical and intellectual faculties, and ſtupify them? Muſt not there reſult from this a degenerate race, inclined to automatoniſm and ſlavery? For moſt manufactures require no other than mechanical labours, which a machine would perform as well as a man. It is therefore impoſſible that a man condemned to this kind of employ, ſhould not become a machine; and ſtupidity and ſervitude are joined to each other.—Theſe truths cannot be too often repeated, not to diſguſt the Europeans with the mania of manufactures; they are too far advanced to retract; but to hinder the Americans from ever following the ſame career.

of

of thread and fine linens, which, ſought after and bought up by the opulent, are the real productions of European miſery.

The ſecond ſpecies of linens contains what is properly called linen-drapery; that is to ſay, all the contextures made of thread of different colours, whether flax or cotton, without mixture, be employed therein, or that theſe two ſubſtances be mixed with others.

In this, linen-drapery are compriſed, painted and dyed linens, handkerchiefs, &c. and in general all thoſe which are applied to uſes different from thoſe of plain linen, or which ſerve for ornament, as muſlins, cambrics, laces, &c.

The variety of articles which compoſe theſe is prodigious: many kinds are alſo, by the ſimplicity of their manufacture, the production of the leiſure of rural houſewifery; and it cannot be doubted, but that many of them will be ſucceſſively manufactured in the United States, in proportion to the advancement of the clearing of lands.

But the greater part of the drapery requires too complicated a proceſs, too varied an apparatus, too continued a labour, to be manufactured otherways than in thoſe particular eſtabliſhments, ſituated from neceſſity, in the neighbourhood of cities, and which have no affinity with a rural life.

The art of making well the tiſſue, of mixing the colours, of contraſting them, of imaginary agreeable deſigns, of preparing the linen when it is finiſhed,

niſhed, &c. this art extenſive, varied and delicate, requires the greateſt attention. The moſt important thing is to do a great deal in it at a little expence, and it is the point to which the Engliſh are arrived, with reſpect to that kind, generally known under the name of printed callico, or perſian.

This will be for a long time a conſiderable article of commerce, between Europe and the United States, which conſume a great deal of it; and it is an article wherein French induſtry, left to its natural force, and not being reſtrained by any obſtacle, need not fear competition.* In this, as in moſt other articles, the nature of things is entirely in favour of France, and ſucceſs depends wholly on the will of that government.

It has ſufficiently manifeſted this willingneſs by many acts tending to encourage the manufacture of painted linens; but let it be frankly declared, that all its acts are not equally marked at the corner with

* Lord Sheffield maintains in his work, that France has not even linen enough for her own conſumption. A commercial dictionary printed at Lyons in 1763, aſſures on the contrary, that France ſends a great deal abroad. If the compiler of the dictionary ſpoke truth, he might be anſwered according to the author of Les Etudes de la Nature—"Of what uſe is it to a ſtate to clothe foreign nations, "when ones own people are quite naked?"—Theſe two writers may be made to agree, by ſaying that France reſtored to her energy, would eaſily furniſh linens to foreigners and her own citizens, and that various interior cauſes have hitherto prevented her from doing it.

wiſdom. Even its variations have been great obſtacles to the encreaſe of induſtry; for perſuaded at one time that the liberty of importation of foreign linens could not do otherways than animate national induſtry, a free courſe has been left to it, and liſtening at another to ancient prejudices it has been interdicted.

Government has lately invited, by an arret, foreign manufacturers of theſe linens to come and ſettle in France. This arret, which is of the 13th November 1785, is too remarkable, and may have, with reſpect to one of its articles, conſequences different from thoſe which were expected, not to merit a diſcuſſion.

In the firſt place, we cannot but obſerve the timidity with which encouragements are diſtributed in France, when even they are at length perceived to be neceſſary, and how inferior ſhe is in this reſpect to other governments. Her invitations are in a form not very proper to diſpoſe ſtrangers favourably towards us, eſpecially ſuch as have a little energy and elevation in their characters, and it is of theſe alone that we are in need. It ſeems as if we granted them an ineſtimable favour, in inviting them to come among us, as if in France, the laws, prerogatives, manners and cuſtoms were better and more analogous to the dignity of man than any where elſe. Suſpecting afterwards that men might regret the loſs of what they had quitted, to come and ſettle in France, permiſſion is granted them to return

return to their country, but not until after a reſidence of ten years.

Among different favours granted them, there is one which entitles them to the *enjoyment of their ſtate or profeſſion, and of their uſages; in that which ſhall not be contrary to the laws of the kingdom, &c.*

But what ſignifies all the vague expreſſions of enjoyment, of ſtate and profeſſion, liberty and uſages? What State is here ſpoken of? Is it of the political, civil, religious or domeſtic ſtate? An Engliſhman, an independent American have a political ſtate, a political liberty, that is, a right to take part in the adminiſtration of public affairs; is this ſtate underſtood? Is the liberty of having a temple for communion, for marriage according to that communion, underſtood by the liberty of uſages? Why are not theſe uſages ſpecified.

And above all, what ſignifies theſe words, *in that which ſhall not be contrary to the laws of the kingdom.* If they convey a clear meaning, do not they completely deſtroy the preceding favours granted? or do not they leave at leaſt a great incertitude, upon that which is or is not granted?

Why is not a language clear and without evaſion made uſe of, eſpecially in treating with ſtrangers, inſtead of an equivocal jargon, dangerous in its nature, becauſe it produces miſtruſt, and may give an opening for deceit: why not ſay to them in clear terms, " If you come within our ſtates accompanied by your wives and children,—if you bring

bring your manufactures, if you eſtabliſh yourſelves among us, you ſhall enjoy all the rights of our ſubjects. Theſe rights are, to poſſeſs property in the fulleſt ſecurity, and not to be deprived of it but by the laws, tribunals, &c. If you fix your abode among us, your children will, without obſtacle, be your heirs: you ſhall alſo preſerve your religious opinions. When there ſhall be a certain number of you, you ſhall have a temple wherein to worſhip, according to your own manner, the Everlaſting Father; and you ſhall have Miniſters, and hold aſſemblies: ſhall intermarry according to your rules &c. If France be not agreeable to you, nothing, abſolutely nothing, ſhall hinder you from leaving it, and carrying with you your riches. It ſhall be told that all this was meant to be ſaid by the arret:" It was neceſſary then to explain it clearly, and why were theſe obſcure words added,—*in that which ſhall not be contrary to the laws of the kingdom.*

How ſhould a German, an Italian, an Engliſhman, who ſhould be tempted to eſtabliſh themſelves in France, be acquainted with your ancient laws and ordinances? Will they turn over your innumerable folios? Certainly they will not, they will ſtay at home; you will therefore have failed in your intentions. On the other hand, do not they know that a century ago, and even ſince that time thouſands of ordinances were, and have been made againſt the Calviniſts, and that theſe ordinances are not yet repealed? Ought not they to be afraid

that theſe would be brought forth againſt them if they gave the leaſt offence? They will remain at home, and once more you have miſſed your aim.

It is the more neceſſary for monarchies not to diſguiſe under a captious form, the advantages by which they ſeek to entice ſtrangers: as free ſtates, ſuch as Ireland and independent America do not ſubject emigrants to any capitulation or conſtraint: they offer them all the rights of citizens the moment they ſet their feet on free ground: and what rights! In Ireland that of voting at elections; in the United States, that of being elected themſelves; and conſequently the moſt ſeducing right, becauſe it is the moſt proper one to maintain the dignity of a man who has dignity; the moſt proper to give it to him who has it not.

When a nation perceives the neceſſity of enticing ſtrangers to ſettle in it, nothing ought to be ſpared, eſpecially in ſtates far advanced in civilization.

It is a means of regenerating morals: if it be poſſible to regenerate them, and eſpecially to encourage induſtry: for in order to exiſt in a ſtrange land and to gain in it conſideration and confidence, emigrants are are forced to have good morals, probity and exactitude. Their example cannot but have a ſalutary influence upon the nation which receives them into its boſom.

Otherwiſe, having opinions, habitudes and knowledge different from thoſe of that nation, they may help it to break its bad cuſtoms, to give it a greater

extent

extent in its views, more coſmopolitiſm, or of that character proper for approaching nations to each other, and for diminiſhing national antipathies.

When the advantages which a country acquires by ſtrangers who fix themſelves in it are conſidered, it is aſtoniſhing to ſee governments think ſo little about them, and frequently not to reſpect their rights. They ought, on the contrary to protect a ſtranger, ſo much the more, as he ſeems leſs ſupported by the laws than a citizen; that he is unacquainted with them, that he may eaſily be the victim of artifice and chicanery, that it frequently happens that he does not underſtand the language; finally, that being alone, he has neither family, friends nor patrons.

In this ſituation, the ſtranger ought to be environed by the ſafe guard of a particular adminiſtration, which ſhould watch over his ſafety, but it is the reverſe of this in many ſtates.*

Thus whilſt we ſee in thoſe ſtates who underſtand their intereſts better, Frenchmen direct the greateſt part of their manufactures, few ſtrangers are ſeen to come and eſtabliſh them among us.

* If a ſtranger be ſuſpected, few examinations are made, he is arreſted—liberty is left to a citizen, or at leaſt, he is treated mildly; the ſtranger is impriſoned: the ſubaltern, inſolent, by reaſon of the indifference of his ſuperiors, treats him with ſeverity: for what is there to fear from him? Is the word with them all,—ſet at liberty—will that ſtranger go and make the temple of chicane ring with his complaints? He fears, leaſt it may be a new foreſt,—he flies, curſing that inhoſpitable country.

A thouſand obſtacles prevent them from doing it; the variableneſs in the principles of adminiſtration, the complication and obſcurity of the laws, the uncertainty of finding in their force a ſufficient ſupport againſt oppreſſion, and eſpecially againſt the deſpotiſm of companies or monopolizers, who, armed with their privileges, inceſſantly trouble individual induſtry; are not theſe proper motives to hinder all foreign emigrations, ſince they force our citizens even of abilities, to emigrate.

I could quote, as a proof of what I advance, known facts, quite recent, which regard the manufacture of painted linens; but I will not write a book upon every article of our exportations; I will confine myſelf to ſaying that, *great liberty, and few regulations,** are the two great means of improving linen manufactures, as well as all others in France.

* I might quote as a proof of what I have ſaid in the courſe of this work, that even the regulations which appear favourable to induſtry, are prejudicial to it; the new arret paſſed in favour of French linens, ſubjects them to a ſtamp duty, under the pretext of preventing fraud. The duty appears moderate, yet the manufacturers are ſenſibly injured by it, moreover it reſtrains them, in ſubjecting them to the caprices of revenue clerks; and this does not prevent fraud; therefore to prevent the manufacturer from being robbed, his money is taken from him, and the robbery ſtill takes place; he would prefer being left to defend himſelf againſt thieves

SECTION

SECTION VI.

SILKS, RIBBONS, SILK-STOCKINGS, GOLD and SILVER LACE, &c.

If the energetic influence of governments were doubted, when they are willing to encourage manufactures, the prodigious ſucceſs which thoſe of ſilks have in France, would furniſh a ſtriking proof of it. There are upwards of ſeventy thouſand looms and frames employed, and one half of the ſilk made uſe of, is produced in the kingdom.

The other ſtates of Europe, except Spain and Italy, are obliged to procure from abroad, the whole of the ſilk neceſſary for the manufactures which they have eſtabliſhed, in imitation of thoſe of France.

If there be added to the advantage which theſe circumſtances give to the French, their ſingular aptitude for the manufacture of every article of luxury; their incredible fecundity in varying theſe articles; the abſolute and general empire allowed them over the taſte and mode which preſide in theſe manufactures; an empire ſo particular, as to be every where copied, no doubt will remain, that

French ſilks, ribbons, ſilk-ſtockings and lace, will be preferred to all others in the United States.*

It is not to be feared, that they will be manufactured there; from the cares, which the inſect that produces the ſilk, requires, to the arrival of the ſtuff in the warehouſe where it is to be ſold, almoſt all is workmanſhip; and the workmanſhip of Europe muſt for a long time, if not for ever, be even cheaper than that of the United States.

The conſumption † of thoſe articles cannot be very

* Yet Lord Sheffield gives for competition with France, England and Spain. This is a new proof of his partiality for his country, and of his averſion to France. The free Americans find the ſilks of France more ſolid and agreeable, and leſs dear than thoſe of England.

It is to be obſerved, that this nation cannot undertake with advantage, thoſe manufactures wherein gold and ſilver are introduced, nor in general thoſe which have for their baſis, the uſe of brilliant metals. Fire is neceſſary as an agent in ſuch manufactures, and a coal fire is prejudicial to them. The atmoſphere in England is perpetually charged with ſulphurous vapours, where contact tarniſhes in a very little time, gold or ſilver lace, &c. and this perhaps is the motive, which more than manners, has baniſhed, and will for ever exclude this kind of luxury from England; and it is not a misfortune.

† Our deſign being to diſſuade the free Americans from wiſhing for manufactures, we ought not to loſe the preſent opportunity of deſcribing to them the abuſes and inconveniencies inſeparable from theſe eſtabliſhments. There is none which has had more ſucceſs in France than that of ſilk. Yet ſee the frightful deſcription given of it by M. Mayet, director of the manufactures of the King of Pruſſia, in his Memoir on the manufactures of Lyons. (Paris Moutard 1786.) He indicates as cauſes of the decadency of theſe manufactures, the dearneſs of proviſions, occaſioned by their multiplicity

very conſiderable there*, if America take advantage of that opening to which nature calls her. Ribbons excepted, the reſt are proper for great cities only; where vanity being inceſſantly excited,

 makes

multiplicity, the exceſſive drunkenneſs of workmen on Sundays, the infection of their diſmal lodgings, bankruptcies which are the reſult of ignorance and diſhoneſty, the ceſſation of work during court mournings, which occaſions ſome workmen to emigrate, and others to ſteal, the miſconduct of revenue officers, the monopoly of ſilk, &c. abuſes ſo much the more alarming, ſays M. Mayet, as they are, for the moſt part, the offſprings of luxury, and which are produced either by acquired riches, or the thirſt of acquiring them; it ſeems as if they could not but ſpring up in manufactures.

Who can recommend the eſtabliſhment of manufactures, on reading the following reflections of the ſame author?

"The concurrence of manufactures neceſſitates their cheapneſs: "to have a preference of ſale, it is neceſſary to ſell at a lower price; "the wages of workmen muſt therefore be moderate, and they muſt "gain no more than will find them in neceſſaries: the workman "muſt never be ſuffered to enrich himſelf. In becoming rich, he "becomes difficult, exacting, enters into combinations, impoſes laws, "becomes diſſipated and idle, he cauſes the price of workmanſhip "to encreaſe, and manufactures to fall. *Thus rich ſtuffs ought to be watered with the tears of the workman who manufactures them.*

Ought not this laſt phraſe to diſguſt the free Americans for ever, with the mania of manufactures of luxury?—Let them reflect, that to ſupport the ſilk manufactures of Lyons, the ſame author propoſes to the king of France, to ſacrifice his taſte for ſimplicity of dreſs, and to wear brilliant cloaths, &c.

* Lord Sheffield ſays, that it is not the fifth part of Indian ſilks, &c. but what ſignifies this calculation? The country which conſumes the greateſt quantity of ſilk ſtuffs, does not perhaps, conſume he twentieth part of that which Lord Sheffield means by Indian ſilks.

makes dreſs a deſirable and almoſt neceſſary object. But theſe great cities will, without doubt, be very rare in the United States. It is ſtill more certain that the conſumption of ſilks does not, at preſent, form there a conſiderable article; that it will augment but very ſlowly and in a manner almoſt inſenſible. The Americans ought, undoubtedly to be congratulated upon it. Their manners will be good and ſimple as long as they do not contract a want of theſe articles; but if they do not want them for themſelves, they will have occaſion for them to form branches of their ſmuggling commerce with the Spaniards. Nature invites them to carry on this commerce in an advantageous manner, both by ſea and land.*

It is known that wretched individuals, who vegetate in South America, maſters and ſlaves, all ſigh after nothing but luxury, pomp and dreſs. Elegant and ſhining ſtuffs of France; her ſilks and laces will therefore be ſought after, demanded, and bought up with avidity.

However it may be with reſpect to this commerce, which exiſts but in futurity, and which muſt be preceded by other circumſtances, there is at preſent a certain conſumption of ſilks, ribbons, &c.

* This commerce will be better eſtabliſhed by land—The riſks there will be leſs—The great rivers which water thoſe immenſe countries, will favour it. A maritime commerce muſt be protected by a naval force, and the nature of things will hinder the Americans from having one for a long time to come.

the United States; and the French ought to to ſupply them.

ve upon this ſubject, that if the Fr ordered that the regular packet boat e and America, ſhould receive on board, as their deſtination wou entures of our ſilk, ſtuffs, ribbons, gauzes, [illegible], &c. would be frequently ſent out, and theſe articles would ſerve better than any other to eſtabliſh uninterrupted connections, and which by the inſight they give, and the experiments which they afford an opportunity of making, conduct nature herſelf, to thoſe great commercial intercourſes to which we ought to aſpire.

The facilities which packet-boats offer for the ſending out of merchandize of value and of little incumbrance ought not to be neglected, ſince, in this claſs of merchandize, we have things which have a decided preference. I will return to thoſe packet-boats which it is important to keep up and to encreaſe, and it is to be wiſhed, that no monopoly of right or fact may take poſſeſſion of them, in order to carry on one branch of commerce in excluſion of all others.

SECTION

SECTION VII.

HATS.

Although a fine hat be called a beaver, it does not follow, that Canada and the circumjacent countries, as the United Northern States, are more favourable to the fabrication of hats than France. Hats, purely of beaver, do not wear well, and are inconvenient on account of their weight. The fineſt, handſomeſt, and beſt hats, contain but little of the fur of that animal, which we eſteem at too high a price, when we think of the loſs of Canada. Wool, the furs of the hare and rabbits; the hair of goats, which is in fact wool, and camels hair, are more neceſſary for making of hats than the fur of beavers. To ſpeak ſtrictly, they may all be done without, even in thoſe hats wherein goodneſs, ſoftneſs, and lightneſs are united.

The few hats of beaver made in the United States, will be ſufficient for their conſumption.—The Americans muſt, however, be inceſſantly told this great truth, that manufactures are not proper for them except in thoſe articles, which are immediately aſſociated with agriculture, and which facilitate its operations. That of hats is not of this kind.

Europe

Europe will therefore, furniſh hats to the Americans. And of what great importance is this object, when the rapid encreaſe of their population is conſidered? It may be affirmed, that every nation capable of ſending them out merchandize, will ſell them hats; but thoſe of France will have the preference. This manufacture had there its origin. The French alone have carried it elſewhere, like many other things, but it has never ceaſed to improve in France.

French hats are, each in its kind, always the beſt fulled and d ed and the moſt agreeable. When government ſhall have reſolved to do for wools, that which it has done for mulberry trees, the manufacture of hats will be ſo much the more advantageous, as we ſhall be leſs tributary to foreigners for the articles employed therein.

SECTION VIII.

LEATHER.

SHOES, BOOTS, SADDLES, &c.

To what cauſe ought the great ſuperiority of Engliſh leather to be attributed over ours? Why is there in this leather work of all kinds that neatneſs, that ſeducing appearance which we have not yet

yet approached? It muſt be repeated, that in England men honour the profeſſion of a tanner, and pride themſelves upon it; whilſt it is the contrary in France. An Engliſh tanner, ſhoemaker, or ſadler, does not quit his trade when he is rich; but makes his riches ſerve, in proportion as they augment, to give luſtre to his profeſſion, to multiply his workſhops, to extend his affairs, to become important even in the article which has furniſhed him the means of doing it. The leather which comes from the tanneries, whoſe owner is in eaſy circumſtances, is always well prepared, becauſe he can advance ſums of money, and give to hides the time neceſſary for their progreſs through his tan-yard. A poor tanner is always preſſed by his wanting to take the leather out of the tan-pit, where it is neceſſary it ſhould remain a long time to acquire a good quality. In general, it is impoſſible with this penury, unknown to the Engliſh, that there ſhould be time to manufacture or fabricate good merchandize. Thoſe who employ the leather, acquire no reputation in their profeſſions but in proportion to great proviſions made before hand, which puts it in their power to furniſh nothing but leather improved by being kept. It will be asked, how the wholeſale dealers manage when they begin buſineſs? They find credit, if in their apprenticeſhips, which precede their eſta-

bliſhments,

bliſhment, they have acquired a good reputation.*

This credit is then ſupported, not only by the certainty of ſucceſs, but alſo by that of ſeeing them become a conſtant means of conſumption.

Such is the art of the Engliſh to ſupport and encreaſe their commerce in every thing, and every where.

* We may readily perceive, that this hope of being ſome day well eſtabliſhed with great ſuccours, is worth all the books of morality. The engravings of Hogarth, which repreſent the fate of the idle apprentice paints, to the life, Engliſh manners. The intention of the workman is not to become *Secretaire du Roi**. He marrys the daughter of the good maſter who has brought him up, and ſucceeds him in the ſame buſineſs which he has contributed to extend.

It is not that the French tanner, who barters his profeſſion againſt a brevet of Secretaire du Roi, or commiſſary of war, ought to be blamed. He reaſons well. He ſees that no conſideration is attached to talents and induſtry, and he delays not to buy himſelf a title. It is therefore wrong to joke merchants and artiſans, who, for money, get themſelves enregiſtered in a privileged claſs. It is an evil to the ſtate, but it is not the fault of thoſe who purchaſe. The fault is due to the kind of diſgrace from which government has not yet delivered the ignoble.

It ought to be obſerved here, how fatal the ſpeculation which eſtabliſhed this order of things has been to the nation. To procure money, offices were created; which, by ennobling, induces the ignoble to purchaſe them; they are diſguſted with their ſituation by being diſhonoured, and for a few millions of livres tournois, which this pitiful operation ſlowly procures, commerce is ruined by having its capital diminiſhed: that commerce, which, by being ſupported, would continually produce millions to the ſtate.

* *A petty title of bought diſtinction, which in the language of ridiculous pride, is conſtrued into* nobility.

where. If we could put it in practice, all our commodities of leather would ſoon equal the perfection of theirs, ſince we do not otherwiſe want materials. Their being beforehand with us, ought not to diſcourage any body, but it is neceſſary to the ſucceſs of this rivality, that government ſhould deliver the tanners from the ſhackles with which they have fettered them*, and ſuppreſs or diminiſh the

* Two cauſes have ſingularly contributed to ruin the tanneries in France. The conſiderable duties impoſed ſucceſſively upon leather, (ſuppreſſed afterwards in part through prudence) and eſpecially the ſevere inſpection that the *commis* (in this caſe a kind of exciſeman) may make every hour of the day and night at the tanners. Nothing diſguſts a man, who has ſome energy, more with his profeſſion, than this diſgraceful ſervitude, than the fear, than the conſtraint which ariſe from the idea of being diſturbed at every moment, by his fireſide, by contemptible ſatellites who live on the miſchief only which they do, and whom the certainty of impunity, intereſt and habitude, render unmerciful, inſolent, and frequently perjured.

Conſiderable proceſſes have been ſeen to ariſe from theſe viſits, and very rich tanners to quit a profeſſion which promiſed them nothing but torment, anguiſh, loſs and law ſuits. It will be a long time before the evil which the farm has done to the tanneries be repaired. Intereſted men who think to conſole us for real evils, which we ſuffer by thoſe which they ſuppoſe among our neighbours, ſay, and repeat, that the ſame vexation of *commis* and of cuſtoms, produce in England the ſame effects. This may ſometimes happen, but there is a law to puniſh them, without a hope of pardon, when they overleap the boundaries preſcribed to them. And theſe boundaries are much more contracted than ours, which the following fact will convince us.

Two officers of the exciſe, having taking it into their heads to follow a man carrying a hamper of wine to the houſe of a particular perſon,

the enormous duties with which the tanneries are loaded.‡

SECTION

perſon, entered with him in contempt of the law; the maſter of the houſe called ſome conſtables and charged them with the officers: they were taken before Alderman Hamett, who read the act of Parliament to the culprits, and ſent them to priſon, for having violated the rights of citizens.

Mercure politique 1786, p. 286.

‡ The following is a liſt of duties paid on leather, whether it be French or foreign; and it muſt be here obſerved, that the leather of France is far from ſupplying our wants. We get the greateſt part of that which we conſume, from the Spaniſh and Portugueſe colonies, from the Levant, and from the coaſt of Barbary.

Green leather, French or foreign, pays on entering the kingdom, by the hundred weight — livres 1, ſols 5

Leather worked up or tanned, pays afterwards, the following duties.

Leather and ſkins -	2 ſ. per pound		
Goat ſkins - -	4		
Ten ſols per pound, which gives more upon leather - - -	1		
Goat ſkins - -	2		
General average -	4 6		
and by the hundred weight - -		22	10
Cuſtom to the general farm - - -		2	0
	Total	25	15

Leather and ſkins pay a duty of a third of their value.

When in 1759 a duty was impoſed, the king ordained that theſe two ſols upon leather and ſkins, and the four ſols upon goat ſkins, ſhould be reimburſed to the manufacturer, when he ſhould have ſent his merchandize abroad.

But adminiſtration demanded and obtained leave to reimburſe two-thirds only.

Since

SECTION IX.

GLASS HOUSES.

Engliſh glaſs ware is brought to great perfection, and England makes it a great object of exportation. America ought to prefer Engliſh glaſs to ours, becauſe we ourſelves prefer it to that of our own manufactory, common bottles excepted, which we make better, and which are of a finer glaſs than that of the Engliſh. But although this opinion may

Since that time, there has been a new impoſt of ten ſols per pound, which makes the duty one ſol more upon leather, and two ſols upon goat ſkins.

This new duty has completed the ruin of the tanneries.

There is another abuſe, which merits to be obſerved. It is that the adminiſtration receives its duties undiminiſhed upon leather half rotten, ſcraped or tanned.

After theſe facts, it may be comprehended, that the tanners in France are reduced to a ſmall number, and are in general miſerable.

An important note, relative to the article of leather.

The note on the duties paid on leather, is true with reſpect to the reality of the duties; but we have been convinced, ſince the note was printed, that a middle price cannot be ſettled between hides, and calf and goat ſkins. There are at leaſt two hundred of the two firſt for one of the laſt. We have been equally convinced, that the hundred weight of ſkins bought at thirty-ſeven livres, and ſold after the tanning at ſixty-four livres, ſixteen ſols, produces to the tanner a profit of no more than five livres, five ſols.

This eaſily explains how the tanners have been ruined.

TRANSLATOR.

may hurt the intereſt of thoſe who have ſuch eſtabliſhments, it is neceſſary to ſay, that France, far from encouraging them, ought to wiſh for their deſtruction. This kind of manufacture deſtroys combuſtibles, of which the rapid progreſs is alarming, when it is compared to the ſlowneſs with which it is produced.

The Engliſh, ſeated upon their coal mines, are little uneaſy about the voracity of furnaces wherein glaſs is melted; but although it be ſaid that we have the ſame advantage; it is ſtill permitted to doubt of it. And moreover it is not ſufficient to have immenſe coal mines under foot, it is neceſſary to be able to work them at a little expence. Glaſs manufactories, placed within the reach of mines, ſhould not be too far diſtant from the ſea, for the tranſports becoming expenſive, would give to the Engliſh an advantage over us, who from every part of their iſland can eaſily get to the ſea. Finally, our own conſumption of glaſs-ware, much greater than that of the Engliſh, may already be too conſiderable, if it be compared with the means to which the ever growing ſcarcity of combuſtibles reduces us.*

To be fully convinced that we ought not to put glaſs-ware into the liſt of articles of exportation to

* The ſcarcity of wood, which begins to be manifeſt, becomes ſo much the more alarming, as combuſtibles which have been attempted to be ſubſtituted to it have not ſucceeded, and that luxury and population naturally inclined to increaſe, eſpecially with commerce, the conſumption of combuſtibles will be doubled.

America, it is only neceſſary to reflect upon the ſituation of the United States. They have immenſe foreſts to clear, conſequently it is highly proper that they ſhould eſtabliſh glaſs manufactories, and encreaſe them as much as poſſible. The labour employed to deſtroy the woods for the clearing of lands, at the ſame time that it diſpoſes the land to culture, will ſerve for the production of a very extenſive object of manufacture, therefore the utility of this deſtruction is double to the Americans.§ It cannot be doubted, that this conſideration will ſtrike them, that they will one day conceive the project of furniſhing Europe with glaſsware, of adding this article to thoſe which they can exchange for ſuch European productions, as are improper for little States to cultivate or manufacture within themſelves. It can be no more doubted, that France will gain greatly by ſeeing her glaſs manufactories deſtroyed by thoſe of the Americans, who will ſell us glaſs ware in exchange for our wines, cloths, printed linens, ſilks, &c. In

§ This is what is done in New Jerſey for the forges. It is impoſſible, ſays the author of the *Cultivateur Americain*, to travel acroſs this province without meeting with ſome little iron forges. If a proprietor has a great marſh full of wood, and that he wiſhes to clear it, he begins by making a dyke at one extremity to ſtop the water of the rivulets which run acroſs it. He fixes in this water the wheels neceſſary for the manufacture of iron, &c. And in a ſmall number of years the traveller, who had ſeen in paſſing by nothing but a vaſt pond full of trees thrown down, and had heard the noiſe of hammers and anvils, ſees well encloſed fields, vaſt meadows, &c.

the

the mean time, it would undoubtedly be a ſalutary meaſure, to open the kingdom to foreign glaſs.

SECTION X.

IRON and STEEL.

The conſumption of theſe two articles is immenſe in the United States; the ſingle article of nails amount to conſiderable ſums. This will not appear extraordinary, when it is remembered, that all the houſes, all the encloſures of the Americans are of wood, that they build a great number of ſhips which require frequent reparations.

It is the ſame with reſpect to ſaws, ſhovels, hoes, and in general all the inſtruments neceſſary to agriculture and navigation.

The Americans are ſingularly curious in the choice of the firſt neceſſity. They have therein the general taſte of the Engliſh; they will have that only which is good. On comparing thoſe which they make themſelves with the tools made in France, it muſt be acknowledged that we are far from that perfection, at which they are arrived in them: this perfection is owing to the eaſe of the labourer, and to the conſideration attached to agriculture. Imperfection is a neceſſary conſequence of reſtraint and diſhonor.

The Americans have attempted to make iron and ſteel. Many manufactories have been ſet up at New York, in New Jerſey, and in Penſylvania; it is true that theſe manufactures are few in number, but they will neceſſarily encreaſe for the reaſons which I ſhall hereafter give.

England heretofore exported a conſiderable quantity of iron and ſteel:†. Her mines not having yet furniſhed iron proper for certain inſtruments, ſhe had recourſe to thoſe of Ruſſia, and eſpecially to thoſe of Sweden, whoſe iron and ſteel are moſt eſteemed. She did no more with regard to America than ſtand between her and others, and this circuit augmented the expences of the coloniſt, without procuring him any benefit. This will exiſt no longer, becauſe the Americans are about to treat directly with the Sweeds and Ruſſians.

Lord Sheffield calculates, that one year with another, England imported 50,000 tons of foreign iron, of which from 15 to 20,000 was afterwards

† To favour the exportation of theſe articles, the parliament had forbidden all the eſtabliſhment of mills and other machines in the United States for making of ſteel. See 25 Geo. II. ch. 29, ſect. 10.

It may be judged by this circumſtance to what a point the mother country or rather the monopolizers can carry avariciouſneſs; ſince the Americans were forbidden to enjoy thoſe advantages which nature had thrown before them. Monopoly reſpects nothing. When theſe attempts are conſidered, ought we to be ſurpriſed at the eternal miſunderſtanding between colonies and the mother country, a miſunderſtanding which finiſhes either by the ruin of the former, or their ſeparation from the latter.

exported

exported to the colonies either in its natural ſtate or worked up.

The profit to the mother country was, according to his Lordſhip, 12,000,000 livres tournois, or thereabouts.

During the war, and ſince the peace, ſome exports of this kind have been made from France to the United States; but they did not ſucceed. Accuſtomed, according to the principles of monopoliſers, who have hitherto directed our foreign commerce, to furniſh our colonies with brittle utenſils, and otherwiſe very imperfect, our merchants were willing to treat the independent Americans like their ſlaves in their iſlands;* and the Americans refuſed our merchandiſe. They ſaid, that we did not even know how to make nails; and, in ſtrict truth, they were right in their aſſertion. They preferred the

* The Chamber of Commerce of Marſeilles, in an inſtruction very well drawn up, addreſſed in 1784 to the merchants, had recommended them to act contrary—"Recollect," ſaid it, "that you "have not ignorant or enſlaved coloniſts to treat with, but a free "people; and, conſequently, rapidly tending to perfection. If "you wiſh to ſucceed, act with fidelity, upon extended and liberal "views," &c. &c.

I have not read this inſtruction. A man of letters, who has reſided a long time in the country, has given me the ideas of it, which I have related. We muſt not be ſurpriſed to find in the merchants of Marſeilles, intelligence *on commerce, ſo rare any where elſe.* Leſs ſhackled, commerce muſt offer more ſolid ideas.

The ſame energy is found in an excellent Memorial on the Franchiſes of this city, lately publiſhed againſt the general farm, and of which we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak.

iron and ſteel of England, although the duties on exportation increaſed their dearneſs.

It is probable enough that the Engliſh legiſlature will ſuppreſs them, according to the advice of Lord Sheffield; and this, joined to the benefit of the œconomy procured by the diſcovery of Lord Dundonald, and of Meſſrs. Watts and Boulton, for heating furnaces at half the common expence, will undoubtedly produce a reduction in the price of iron.

This diminution is one of the cauſes which muſt neceſſarily hinder us from attempting a rivality in this particular with the Engliſh; but there is another, which is ſtill more deciſive.

In fact, the obſervations made heretofore upon the neceſſity of deſtroying our glaſs manufactories, apply naturally to that conſiderable branch of iron-work, of which the workmanſhip is the leaſt expence, and which requires a great quantity of combuſtible materials. The United States are obliged to deſtroy their immenſe foreſts: France ought, on the contrary, to think of re-producing hers; therefore, the founderies and forges will offer in America the advantage of turning to profit woods, which, without theſe manufactures, it would be equally neceſſary to burn: whilſt in France, wood and charcoal, becoming every day more ſcarce and dear, renders theſe eſtabliſhments more expenſive. Now, as the abundance in which iron mines are every where

where found,* makes the price of iron depend almoſt entirely on that of combuſtibles neceſſary to melt it, it is evident, that the United States have over us, and even over the Engliſh, a conſiderable advantage.

Moreover, forges are a part of the equipage neceſſary to country labour; for, if it were neceſſary to ſeek at a diſtance the utenſils of agriculture, the progreſs of clearing of lands would ſoon be ſtopped —the productions would not pay the expences. Theſe would ſtill be increaſed by the repeated neceſſity of ſubſtituting new utenſils to thoſe, which there would be no means of repairing. As ſoon as a people has mines of iron; as ſoon as it is led by the nature of things, and by neceſſity, to eſtabliſh founderies and forges, it is not a long time, if it be ever ſo little active and enlightened, before it renounces all foreign aid in all the articles of iron, which eſſentially belongs to the art of a worker at a forge, to that of lock or black-ſmiths;* there-

* It is now proved, that there are many of them in America. Mines of tin, and of very good copper, have alſo been diſcovered there.

* Perhaps nails muſt be excepted. Their price will be a long time in Europe lower than in America. If, as Mr. Smith aſſerts in his Treaty on the Wealth of Nations, a young man of twenty years of age can make 2,400 nails a day, let it be judged to what a degree of cheapneſs, low-priced workmanſhip ought to reduce them; therefore, wherever workmanſhip is dear, nails cannot be made. Yet we read in the American Gazette, that there has been eſtabliſhed in one of the States a manufacture of nails. Will this ſucceed?—Futurity will ſhew us.

fore, the Americans are, as I have obſerved, already provided with theſe eſtabliſhments: and as Engliſh induſtry has eſtabliſhed and directed them, they are all at that degree of perfection, which we have not yet attained.

Let it be remarked, that theſe manufactures being joined to a life of agriculture, and carried on in the midſt of it for its uſes, can have none of the pernicious influences, which ought to be feared in thoſe complicated manufactures, which are obliged to be concentrated in the incloſures of cities, whoſe deſtructive employ exhauſts the natural ſtrength of men, by corrupting their morals.

Therefore, to reſume this article—far from encouraging the exportation of iron, manufactured in France, we ought, for our own intereſt, to encourage the importation of foreign iron, becauſe manufactures of this kind take away combuſtibles from things more preſſingly wanted, and from leſs deſtructive manufactures, where workmanſhip produces a greater profit.

This, however, is not the caſe with every article of curioſity of iron, ſteel, or copper work, wherein the workmanſhip exceeds the other expences. They belong to that weak organiſation which the Americans ought not to envy. But it muſt not be diſſimulated, that a competition with the Engliſh will, on this head, be difficult to maintain: their great ability and addreſs in the diſtribution of work, and different proceſſes, the invention of which has not been

been conſtrained by any error* or falſe view of the adminiſtration of England, gives them over us a con-

* Thoſe falſe views cannot be too much deplored—thoſe narrow ideas—thoſe fears of ignorance, which ſnatch from the hands of induſtry the happy inventions, which are proper to enrich a whole nation! Who can calculate the riches that England owes to the ſole application of the coining-mill, or engine and dye, whoſe free uſe has been left to all the manufactures, which it was capable of improving in accelerating their effects? How many proceedings more ingenious and expeditious has this machine produced? Happily for England, there have not been found in her boſom thoſe able miniſters, who, ſeeing that this machine is of uſe in making money, have drawn from it the profound conſequence that every one would make falſe money, if the free uſe of it were permitted: as if it was poſſible to make falſe money for a long time, as if the more general uſe of the machine did not awaken the public, and even private intereſt, and render them more attentive to abuſes which might be committed; as if its uſe would not produce much more benefit to the revenue, than it could deprive it of by the falſe coinage of money, which can never be either extenſive or dangerous.—When therefore will thoſe who hold the reins of empire calculate like ſtateſmen.

It is true that at preſent artiſts are permitted to have mills, &c. by conforming themſelves to certain formalities,—always formalities! No other are required in England than thoſe of being able to pay the expence of the machine,—and has England perceived from it any pernicious effects? Has falſe money overturned public order, impoveriſhed the nation, or diminiſhed her revenues?

With what difficulty has the invention of the coining mill made its way into France? It is due to an induſtrious Frenchman of the fifteenth century, named Briois. Perſecuted for this diſcovery, he was obliged to take refuge in England; the Engliſh received him favourably, and put his invention into execution. Another Frenchman of the name of Warin, of the laſt century, wiſhed to procure the advantages of it to his countrymen, he experienced a like abſurd perſecution; and without the ſupport of the Chancellor Sequier, he would have

conſiderable advantage; yet it is not impoſſible for us to balance it, for this diſtribution of work and proceedings are neither ſecrets nor ſuperior to French induſtry. Let government adopt and follow the trivial maxim—'Who will have the end 'will find the means.' Let it in conſequence not interdict any of the means, and this induſtry will not have to envy the ſucceſs of our rivals."

SECTION XI.

JEWELLERY, GOLD and SILVERSMITH'S ARTICLES, CLOCKWORK, &c.

IF the inhabitans of the United States concencentrate their labours and pleaſure in a life of huſbandry;

have failed in his attempt.—I do not allow myſelf to ſpeak of the perfection to which M. Droz pretends to have brought the coining mill at preſent; but by the vexations he ſuffers, it may be judged that he has in fact ſimplified that machine, that he has rendered fewer hands neceſſary, and the coinage of money more perfect and expeditious; two advantages very precious in this art, as the expences of it cannot be too much reduced, and the exactitude and perfection of the ſtamp of money are the ſureſt means of diſconcerting coiners. What fatal genius is it therefore which purſues induſtry in France? That of companies, of corporations, of privileges. As ſoon as a happy diſcovery attacks their profits, they employ even the baſeſt means, to defend them; intrigue, falſehood, ſeduction, are all legitimate with the people which compoſe thoſe aſſociations, whilſt the man of genius, ſtanding alone for the moſt part, and who attaches too great a value to his time to proſtitute it to theſe manœuvres, generally experiences the moſt humiliating diſguſts.

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bandry; if they continue to ſeek happineſs, not in pomp, but in nature herſelf, and in a ſimplicity of manners; in that ſimplicity which naturally produces eaſe, and the population and proſperity of States; they will not ſeek after, but diſdain plate and jewels, to which we attach ſo great a price.—They will reſerve precious metals for mints and commerce.

It is not however to be preſumed, that this order of things ſhould long ſubſiſt in great cities, and eſpecially in frequented ports: European taſte and wants prevail in America,* and French induſtry ought to be anxious to ſupply their conſumption, ſeeing that the French can underſell the Engliſh in theſe articles.

But it is probable that the plated ware (copper plated with ſilver) invented in England, will take place in the United States, of that of ſilver plate, as painted paper has replaced there much more expenſive hanging: this new ſort of plate has for uſe all the advantages of the other, and coſts a great deal leſs.

How comes it that the Engliſh are already ſo advanced in this branch of induſtry, whilſt there exiſts in France but one or two manufactures where copper is plated on one ſide only and ſilvered over

* Plate is uſed in the Southern States—magnificence is ſeen there; on which account, travellers, having but little philoſophy, ſpeak highly of them:—but obſerve what is attached to this luxury,—ſlavery reigns in the South, and there are many poor.—There are none in the Northern States,—no plate is thereuſed.

on

on the other. How have the Engliſh already carried this invention to ſo high a degree of perfection? How have they made of it a matter of extenſive commerce, whilſt we are reduced to the two manufactures wherein no progreſs is ſeen, and where the inferiority of the workmanſhip diſguſts thoſe who would otherwiſe find it to their advantage to make uſe of this kind of plate.

Theſe manufactures have an excluſive privilege: there is the word—Government fearing leaſt falſe money might be made in them, has forbidden even the plating on both ſides.

Reaſoning would here be ſuperfluous: it is ſufficient to open the eyes to ſee which of the two adminiſtrations has beſt ſerved its country; whether it be that of England, by not cramping induſtry, and in not giving way to fears, whoſe illuſion is ſhewn by the moſt trifling obſervation: or ours, in following a contrary plan. Again, was it apprehended, that counterfeit crowns would be made by millions; as a ſacrifice is made to this fear of an induſtry which would certainly produce many millions of them?

Thus when we conſider all theſe articles, wherein trifling conſiderations ſhall be our induſtry, and condemn to mediocrity our means of proſperity; when we thence turn our attention towards the different ſpirit which governs England, it is aſtoniſhing that induſtry ſtill exiſts in France, and that the nation does not fall into ſloth, and remain there.

Let

Let us give thanks unto nature, who has richly gifted us, and her guardian ſtrength has hitherto demonſtrated itſelf ſuperior to the malignant influence of the falſe ſcience of our adminiſtrators.*

Shall we remain behind the Engliſh and Swiſs in clockwork? The Americans muſt have watches; This admirable invention carries with it ſuch a degree of utility for even the poor claſſes, of ſociety, that it ought not to be conſidered as a ſimple acquiſition of luxury, eſpecially in the United States, where the diſtance of habitations one from another make the neceſſity of it more fully perceived.

But watches muſt be made good and at a cheap rate; theſe two conditions will aſſure them a prodigious ſale wherever civilization exiſts; time is there a precious property, and its price renders the inſtrument neceſſary which divides it: they will be

* A curious and more uſeful work would be, a faithful and more rational hiſtory of all the errors into which the rage of regulating and prohibiting has thrown adminiſtration. It is very probable that the reſult would be, that French commerce has always proſpered, in proportion to the inexecution of regulations; that in cauſing them to be rigorouſly executed, foreign commerce has been favoured and enriched. The ſpirit of invention and induſtry which our prohibitory regimen has developed on foreign nations, was never perhaps ſuſpected; neither the innumerable quantity of workſhops which are there conſtructed, in proportion to the multiplication of excluſive privileges in France. Thus, that of the India Company, has made Switzerland like the Eaſt Indies, for the manufacture of muſlins, and plain and painted linens.

made

made good and at a cheap rate, when able artiſts are conſulted.*

This ſpecies of manufacture will always belong to great cities, where the exceſs of population keeps workmanſhip at a low price, where the difficulty of ſubſiſting enſlaves that croud of weak and indolent beings, which are under the law of the rich undertaker. The United States are far from ſuffering this difficulty of ſubſiſtence, this exceſs of population; they are therefore far from theſe manufactures.

SECTION XII.

DIFFERENT SORTS OF PAPER, STAINED PAPER, &c.

THIS uſeful production from old rags, thrown off by people at eaſe, and gathered with care by the

* Paris has produced ſome very diſtinguiſhed ones;—they honoured their art becauſe they had great ſenſe and ingenuity, and had been well inſtructed; but their pupils, for the moſt part ſtrangers, and not having the ſame means of gaining conſideration, were afraid of our injudicious manner of deſpiſing the hands which work at mechanical employments, and quitted the country. We have at preſent a Swiſs, M. Brequet, whoſe talents are equal, if not ſuperior to thoſe of the moſt celebrated Engliſh watch-makers. Happily for us, his character, his elevated views, his obliging zeal command reſpect in ſome meaſure, and place him above prejudices. Let government conſult him, and he will ſoon indicate certain means whereby France may have a national manufacture of clock and watch-work.

We are informed that he has preſented to the Miniſtry, a profound memorial upon this ſubject.

the indigent, is daily improved in France.* The Engliſh themſelves, buy our papers for printing, and our writing paper will not be long unequal to theirs, if it does not ſurpaſs it.*

* The manufacture of M.M. Johannot d'Aunonay, produces finer paper than any other manufacture in Europe, and the proof is ſimple.—There is more demand from Ruſſia, England, and Holland, for this paper than the manufacturer can furniſh; this ſcarceneſs of paper d'Aunonay, explains, for why, our ſhopkeepers ſtill get paper from Holland. To diminiſh this ſcarcity, theſe good citizens have generouſly offered to communicate their proceſs to all the manufacturers of paper in the nation, and even to form ſchools, wherein the art of paper making may be taught. Many perſons have profited by theſe offers? the States of Burgundy have lately ſent three pupils—Theſe manufacturers have proved that it was not more expenſive to make good and excellent paper than that of a middling quality. M. Le Clerc, who has a great paper manufactory at Eſſone, found with concern, that his manufactory coſt him a great deal, and produced bad paper only: He communicated his regret to M. Johannot; the latter went to Eſſone and produced good paper with common paſte. This was certainly a great ſervice done to France, and a good example given to the ſordid avarice of monopolizers, who, not being able to do and embrace every thing, hinder others from doing it. May theſe generous patriots receive that honour which they deſerve: may their example be followed every where and by all. This will be to them a more flattering eulogium, a more brilliant and laſting recompence than cordons and ribbons, unworthy of true merit, becauſe they are frequently the price of intrigue, and the ornament of mediocrity, The pleaſure of well-doing, and the ſuffrages of honeſt men, are pure and unchangeable recompenſes.—The artiſt who does not know how to confine himſelf to theſe, will never do any thing which is great.

* Rags are more ſcarce, and conſequently dearer in England than in France, and they are articles of illicit commerce between the two countries. There are very ſevere laws againſt this commerce, but it is, and ever will be carried on, as long as there ſhall be any thing to be gained by it.

But

But if there be an object of commerce for which Europeans need not fear a reciprocal competition; if there be an article which offers to all European manufactures a certain and lucrative employ, it is that of paper: the conſumption will always be equal at leaſt to the production, and its numerous uſes inſure a ſtill greater conſumption, in proportion as population commerce and knowledge ſhall encreaſe.

Every nation ought therefore to obſerve without jealouſy, that each country ſtrives to have within itſelf manufactures of this kind.

The Americans cannot however enjoy this advantage for a long time to come: beſides the dearneſs of workmanſhip, their population cannot furniſh them old rags in quantities ſufficient to eſtabliſh paper mills, whoſe productions would be equal to the conſumption of the inhabitants.

Will their population ever furniſh them with this ſufficiency? This is a queſtion difficult to reſolve. In fact, in proportion to the knowledge which nations may acquire, and to the liberty of the preſs, which may be enjoyed in America, a prodigious quantity of paper muſt be conſumed there; but can the population of this country produce rags in the ſame proportion? It cannot reaſonably be hoped that it will. It is therefore probable that the American markets will not for a long time, be provided with

with any other than European paper, and that this will find a place there.*

But ſince the uſe of paper is ſo advantageous to men, ſince it is ſo varied, it behoves every nation to look upon foreign conſumption as a ſupplement only, as an open port in caſe of a choaking up of interior commerce. It behoves every nation to keep paper at a moderate price within itſelf, and to attain this end, means muſt be thought of to encreaſe materials which ſerve to compoſe this article, and to purſue the happy attempts already made to do it.† Theſe reſearches are ſo much the more

* Rags are exceſſively dear in America: however, the author of the Cultivateur Americain, ſpeaks of paper mills eſtabliſhed in Penſylvania, which make very good paper.

† In the moment of writing this note, I have before me very intereſting eſſays on vegetables, and on the bark of ſeveral trees, to transform them into paper; theſe eſſays are due to the reſearches of M. Delille, to whoſe care the manufacture of Montargis is indebted for a great part of its reputation. He has far ſurpaſſed that Scheffer, whom our men of erudition have quoted with ſo much emphaſis.—On ſeeing the books which M. Delille has printed, on paper made from a ſpecies of mallows, and the bark of the linden tree; and on perceiving the advantages which might be reaped from this invention, at leaſt in packing and ſtained paper, of which ſo great a conſumption is made; we wiſh that this invention may be more and more known, received and adopted, as a means of remedying the want of rags and the dearneſs of paper, which ought to have more influence than is commonly believed on the progreſs of knowledge.

It is almoſt impoſſible that this invention ſhould not ſoon become general, and it is greatly the intereſt of the free Americans to naturalize it among them.

Strong

eſſential, ſo much the more urgent, as the lucky invention of coloured paper for hanging, is of a nature always to cauſe a greater conſumption of paper; and this manner of hanging with paper will ſubſiſt for a long time, becauſe it gives a neat and agreeable appearance to apartments.

No other is known in the United States; it is there univerſal; almoſt all the houſes are neat and decent.

SECTION XIII.

PRINTING.

THE liberty of the preſs being a fundamental principle of the American conſtitution, it ſeems that it ought thence to be concluded, that printing will encreaſe there. But it cannot exiſt without difficulty in countries unprovided with paper mills, or far from them; and I have obſerved that manufactories of paper will not for a long time be formed in the United States.

Strong lies of lime and pot-aſh, and the intelligent uſe of vitrolic acid are great means of reducing hemp and flax to that kind of ſubſtance extremely attenuated, ſoft and brittle, which is proper for making of paper. It might be contrived by theſe means to ſupply the want of rags by old cordage. Theſe would even ſerve to make good paper, ſince being reduced to tow, it may eaſily be bleached. The attenuation to be feared for linen, is not ſo for the material of which paper is made.

Moreover,

Moreover, extenſive printing requires workmen at a little expence, that is to ſay, men without property, talents or conduct, whom great cities produce and employ in work which requires neither intelligence or emulation, and it has already been obſerved, that the United States, unleſs the rage of great cities takes poſſeſſion of them, will contain but few of theſe wretched beings.

Printing will not therefore be extended among the free Americans, at leaſt beyond that which is neceſſary for the public prints.* Their conſtant and conſiderable ſale, permitting a greater expence in workmanſhip, conſequently draws about the preſs many individuals, becauſe they have, in a good ſalary, a faint view of the means of becoming proprietors or traders.†

The furniſhing of books of ſcience and amuſement muſt therefore make a conſiderable object of importation into the United States. It is for France

* Gazettes are ſingularly multiplied in the United States. They will become ſtill more ſo with an encreaſe of population, and this is an advantage, for they are what that excellent patriot Dr. Jebb, called them, "Sentinels which watch over public liberty and the "preſervation of truth.

† However, conſiderable works are ſometimes printed in the United States, and of which the edition is carefully enough corrected.—I have ſeen for inſtance, the Memoirs in Quarto of the Academies of Boſton and Philadelphia, of the laſt year, which prove at the ſame time that free America is not ſo totally without typographical eſtabliſhments, and that the inhabitants are not all ſuch idiots as a prejudiced German dreamed they were.

to appropriate to herſelf this commerce, and to encourage the impreſſion of Engliſh books. Our workmanſhip being cheaper than that of England, and the Engliſh making uſe of our paper, our binding being leſs expenſive, why ſhould not all the books in which the Americans ſtand in need of, be printed in France?

It will be ſaid that we do not enjoy the liberty of the preſs,—be it ſo:—But it is only with reſpect to our books;* for undoubtedly, the adminiſtration does not pretend to extend its coercive principles, to books written in foreign languages; it would not attain its end: ſeeing that it does not do it with reſpect to French books;† and by this impolitical rigour

* Under the reign of Louis XIV. whoſe ambition extended to every thing, it was ſeriouſly attempted to make the French language univerſal. This abſurd pretenſion was ridiculouſly ſupported by the tyranny exerciſed upon books and authors. This tyranny could not but produce bad ones, and conſequently diſguſt ſtrangers. Happily ſome judicious men had the courage to make ſacrifices, and to get their works printed abroad. It is theſe prohibited books which have enriched the French language and encreaſed the reputation of French literature. What authors are heard quoted in every country? Rouſſeau, Voltaire, Helvetius, Monteſquieu, &c. that is to ſay, men who have been patriotic enough to violate the laws of the preſs.

† So that even more than half of the libraries in France are compoſed of French books, printed abroad, for which there are two cauſes—the cheapneſs and goodneſs of the books, the *octavo* leaf printed, is commonly ſold in Switzerland to the public at nine deniers or a ſol, and it coſts three or four ſols in France. Prohibited books are ſold at Paris at the ſame price as books permitted, which proves

rigour, France would be deprived of a lucrative article of commerce, certain, and of continual increaſe.

The Dutch, ſo active and vigilant, in ſeizing the riſing branches of commerce, have for a long time ſpeculated on books in the United States: Many bibles and books of prayer, for the uſe of the Americans, are printed in Holland. Lord Sheffield is obliged to acknowledge, that printing in Holland is by far more cheap than that of England; and of courſe muſt have the preference. They will ſome day extend this commerce to claſſical books.*

SECTION XIV.

SALT.

THIS article, ſo neceſſary to the Americans, and ſo abundant in France, muſt not be forgotten

 in

proves the dearneſs of French printing.—For to the original price of prohibited books, there muſt be added the expences of carriage, riſks of entry, the commiſſions of different agents, &c. with reſpect to the goodneſs of the works, the beſt, as I have already obſerved, are printed abroad: Helvetius has ſaid with reaſon, "*On ne dit la verite, que dans les livres, prohibes, on ment dans les autres.*

† A man of letters who had remarked the dearneſs of Engliſh books in France, and how difficult it was to get them from England, thought of getting the beſt Engliſh works reprinted in Paris;—This was a ſpeculation really patriotic—he abandoned it after having got a few volumes reprinted, probably becauſe the conſumption in France was not great enough, and that of England was not open to him. He might at preſent revive it, independent America preſents a great opening to him.

in the enumeration of commodities, to be imported into America. The Americans will for a long time be obliged to get it from Europe; not that they have no ſalt marſhes upon the coaſts, and ſalt pits in the interior parts of the country; but theſe marſhes, theſe ſalt pits, muſt have hands to work them; and hands are better employed in the United States.* The ſalt exported from Europe, will for this reaſon, be a long time cheaper than that of America:—moreover, its freight will coſt but little, as veſſels coming from Europe, may be ballaſted with it. The Americans ought to give the preference to French ſalt; it is leſs ſharp, leſs corroſive, and has a more ſalty quality, and conſequently more proper for ſalting, than any other European ſalt.

The facility with which the abundance of ſalt may be made on the coaſts of France, puts it in the power of the inhabitants to ſell it at a very cheap rate; but the general farm is reproached with having ſucceſſively deſtroyed, under different pretences, the eſtabliſhments neceſſary to the production of foreign commerce. The ſad catalogue of fiſcal errors, which it is neceſſary to repair, to reſtore French ſalt to this commerce, cannot be read without regret; the judicious hand which has juſt drawn up this catalogue, has at the ſame time in-

* Salt, during the late war, was very dear in America, it was worth twenty times its ordinary price—The deprivation of this article was very ſenſibly felt by the Americans, who conſume much ſalted proviſion, and give a great quantity of ſalt to their cattle.

dicated

dicated the remedy for all the abuſes, cauſed by the deſtructive intereſts of monopoly. Let me add to the preſſing motives for the reform which he propoſes;* the prodigious gain which the furniſhing of ſalt to the United States would produce to France, if local circumſtances rendered their own ſalt ſcarce for any great length of time, by the difficulty of making it, and at as cheap a rate as in France. Their population inclines to a rapid encreaſe, and the conſumption of ſalt may be eſtimated at twenty pounds a head; it is at leaſt upon this footing in France, in places where ſalt is made.

The three millions of inhabitants which the United States contain at preſent, conſume therefore, ſixty million pound weight of ſalt, without reckoning that which is given to cattle, and that employed in ſalting proviſions; of which a great quantity is conſumed in the United States, and with which they will carry on a commerce more and more conſiderable: I will not at preſent go into a calculation of the immenſe riches which the furniſhing of made ſalt to foreign population continually increaſing, would produce to France. I ought to guard againſt exaggerations: it may however, be foreſeen, that a conſiderable part of the

* *See Obſervations on the diminution of the number of ſailors in France, and on the means of encreaſing them.*

The author of this work had a part in the adminiſtration in the moſt happy times, and had the reputation of a man very well informed in public affairs.

States of the North will never make any ſalt. It is therefore poſſible that French ſalt may have a preference among them, as being cheaper, and more within their reach: the population of theſe States will be more rapid than that of the others, and the commerce more varied and extenſive.

But are reaſons wanting to aboliſh the monopoly of ſalt? If this monopoly has deſtroyed more than twenty thouſand ſailors who were employed in the ſalt trade, it is undoubted, but they will be again produced, with the ſalt pits which it deſtroyed? If it changes the quality of ſalt, ſo as to render it impoſſible to be known again, and to make it pernicious to health; is it doubted, that in reſtoring it to univerſal commerce, it would not again become ſuch as nature, aided by free induſtry, gives it to us, that is white, agreeable, and pure? If it produces to the State a revenue, which has been ſucceſſively tranſpoſed into an impoſt, deſtructive of the conſumption, is it doubted, that better calculations, favourable to conſumption, would not conciliate every intereſt? Le us except, however, the intereſt of monopoly; an intereſt deſpicable in its principle and proceedings, and pernicious in its conſequences; and which every honeſt man ought to deteſt, and every government to proſcribe. I can add nothing to the reaſons which the author of the Memoir I have quoted, gives for deſtroying the monopoly of ſalt; may it produce a happy and permanent reform!

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SECTION XV.

General Considerations on the Catalogue of French Importations into the United States.

I WILL extend no farther the liſt of articles, which French commerce may furniſh to the United States: there are many others which I omit, becauſe the bounds of my work will not permit me to examine any more than the principal ones. The intelligent reader will ſupply the reſt: I have ſaid enough to ſhew the importance of which this commerce may be to France.

If faith be given to the calculations of Lord Sheffield, and of other political writers, it appears, that the amount of the exportations of Great Britain into free America, was upon an average, calculated upon three years, taken before 1773, near three millions Sterling, upwards of ſeventy-two millions of livres tournois. How much will it increaſe in following the progreſſion of population, and clearing of lands? It is eſpecially for this future ſtate of things, that France ought to prepare her means.

Let it be alſo obſerved, that this commerce employed ſeven or eight hundred veſſels, and about ten thouſand ſailors.

Ought

Ought France to let ſlip ſo important a commerce, and a means ſo natural of ſupporting her marine? For without commerce there can be no marine. It is a forced ſtate, which does not laſt a long time. Has not ſhe, as I have already proved, in the richneſs of her ſoil, in a variety of her manufactures, in the low price of her workmanſhip, in the induſtry and taſte of her inhabitants, in her population, and in the ſituation of her ports, an infinity of means, ſufficient to eſtabliſh in America a ſolid and extenſive commerce, without having any thing to fear from a foreign concurrence, or being obliged to ſtrive to ſuppreſs it? It muſt be continually repeated, that if it be wiſhed that peace ſhould reign upon the earth, the words *preference, and competition*, which are frequently ſignals of diſcord, muſt be uſed with circumſpection. Why ſhould there be any jealouſy with reſpect to this commerce? In the courſe of time, independent America will offer a field wide enough for all the European manufactures.

But if this commerce is to be advantageous to France, this maxim, which I have ſought to inculcate every where, muſt not be loſt ſight of, *to do that which is proper*; all is not proper for her: ſhe muſt not therefore, have the mad ambition of embracing every thing; it muſt firſt be ſeen, what eſtabliſhments the United States will be induced to make, as long as there ſhall be lands to clear; and on the other hand it muſt be conſidered, what we

can

can furniſh them with, whether it be of our productions or manufactures.

If on both ſides they do not attach themſelves to follow rigorouſly the *nature of things*, if the Americans will at once undertake that which is proper for a new people, vigorous, eſtabliſhed in vaſt countries, and that which among an ancient people is the fruit of their corruption and luxury, and eſpecially of their weakneſs and degradation, occaſioned by great cities: if, on their part, the French will give to the Americans, taſtes and wants which they have not, and which they ought, in their actual ſituation, to put away: I dare foretell, that their commercial connections, will become precarious, their ſpeculations frequently uncertain, and their loſſes numerous.

It will be obſerved, that I return frequently *to the nature of things*; the attention cannot be too often turned to it. Whether it be preſumption, envy, or ignorance, men are ſingularly diſpoſed to go from, or not to know *this nature of things*: yet it is, as I have already obſerved, the only rule which ought to guide commercial people, in their ſpeculations and governments, in their regulations, if they perſiſt in making them.

It muſt not be believed, that this nature exiſts, becauſe, one or two reſemblances or circumſtances appear, which ſeem at firſt ſight to announce its preſence: for inſtance, it would be a great error to believe, that a people can work up every thing which

which grows about it: all that is under its hand; that if it gathers wool, hemp, flax, and ſilk, it ought to keep theſe materials to manufacture them.

This ſyſtem in a riſing ſtate, would exhauſt the reſources of its population. It is to this ſyſtem, that are due, thoſe afflicting inequalities of fortune, remarkable in extenſive kingdoms, every part of which was invited to proſperity; every individual born to be happy, where, nevertheleſs, deſerts are ſeen on one ſide, and men crouded one againſt another on the other;* riches are accumulated

* It is remarked that the celebrated Doctor Franklin ſuppoſes, in a judicious pamphlet, publiſhed to diſſuade uſeleſs people from going to America, ſuch as nobles, traders, and artiſts, that there is too great a plenitude in Europe; it is an idea which he had already manifeſted in 1751, in his Obſervations upon Population, addreſſed to the Royal Society of London. "The principal part of Europe," ſaid he, "is fully furniſhed with labourers and artiſans, and conſequently its population cannot be much increaſed."—This is an error; Europe is far from being full, ſince there are on all ſides immenſe deſe ts, which wait but for hands to become fruitful; ſince in cultivated countries but few individuals are ſeen, who in order to live, over do themſelves with work. Princes through vanity, and miniſters too much courtiers, have created and encouraged eſtabliſhments, and a kind of induſtry which ſhould not have reſulted but from too great a fullneſs; which has never exiſted in the country parts. It has been ſuppoſed, that like as in cities, too great a fullneſs exiſted in the country; this is the cauſe of the error. It is this error into which the miſſionaries from China fell, who ſeeing men in great numbers upon the banks of rivers and in cities, multiplied them upon paper, ſuppoſing them to exiſt in the immenſe interior deſerts, where a few miſerable coloniſts are ſcarcely ſeen to wander.

lated in cities, or in ſome cantons, and miſery in whole provinces; here a ſickly activity, there a complete palſy. Of what uſe therefore, is experience, if the independent Americans do not open their eyes to the effects of European madneſs? Will they imitate the example of Ruſſia, where it ſeems as if it were feared, leaſt productions, taſtes and eſtabliſhments, which mark the decline of ſtates, ſhould not be ſufficiently advanced?

I repeat, that as long as hands are inſufficient to cultivate the earth, and take care of the flocks, it is abſurd to take them from that occupation.—Europe has the ſpirit of manufactures; independent America ought to have that of cultivating lands: this is the ſtate of things, upon which commerce ought to be eſtabliſhed and combined.

I do, and ought to inſiſt upon theſe obſervations, becauſe the reading of American papers proves to me, that notwithſtanding general inſights, enough is not yet known in the United States, neither of the principles which muſt form connexions with Europe, nor of the terrible inconveniencies attached to manufactures. I perceive that an ill underſtood avarice longs to ſet them up, and reproaches

This chimera of too great a plenitude ſhould be inceſſantly combated, becauſe it ſerves to ſupport the prejudices of oppreſſion.—It indicates that all is well,—that all goes on well ſince every part is peopled, ſince all corners are inhabited. The confidence of Kings is deceived by theſe falſe appearances of population: afterwards they attach a great conſideration to them, and their conſciences repoſe upon the illuſion.

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the different legiſlatures with their indifference. This indifference is wiſe, at leaſt, as far as relates to all manufactures which are connected with a life of huſbandry, and which ſuppoſes the exiſtence, neceſſity and habitation of cities.

The ſame arguments which prove the neceſſity of making ſtockings, family linen, &c. at home, are applied without diſtinction to cloths, ſilks, and the moſt complicated and pernicious manufactures. The example of England is continually quoted; manufactures, ſay they, are the baſis of her proſperity. It is not obſerved, that the circumſtances of the United States, are abſolutely different from thoſe of England; or that it would be folly in the firſt, to undertake what the laſt is forced to do.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Articles which Independent America may furniſh in return for Importations from France.

ARRIVED at this part of my work, I cannot do better than conſign to it the letter addreſſed by M. de Calonne to Mr. Jefferſon, Miniſter Plenipotentiary, from the United States of America*, as it announces the intention of government to favour a commerce, of which I will endeavour to ſhew the importance.

It appears by this letter, that there are already four free ports opened in France to the Americans; that the means of rendering duties on exportation leſs burdenſome to this commerce are now under conſideration; that cuſtoms and admiralty duties, payable by an American veſſel on entering the ports of France, are to be reduced and ſubjected to a ſimple method of collection, free from abuſes; that the entry of tobacco, whale-oil, and ſpermaceti, is favoured by diſpoſitions, which are not in

* See the letter at the end of the volume.

in truth ſo extenſive as commerce would require, but whoſe execution will neceſſarily bring on an extenſion.

The letter from M. de Calonne, announces farther, that the duties of entry on different kinds of pot-aſh, on beaver ſkins and fur, on raw hides, on ſhip timber, on new veſſels, on trees, ſhrubs, and ſeeds of trees, are aboliſhed; alſo thoſe on the exportation of books and paper of every kind, deſtined to the United States, and that the duties on brandy are generally aboliſhed; that ſuppreſſions of the ſame kind have been made in favour of the wines of Bourdeaux and Guienne, as I have already remarked, and that government grants facilities for their exportation.

Finally, ſpeedy encouragements to the commerce of furs and ſkins, and to the importation of rice from Carolina.

We muſt not be ſurprized, if in paſſing to a new ſtate of things, the paces be ſlow and meaſured. The ſhackles of the fiſcal are met with at every ſtep. Commerce is every where embarraſſed by them. After having removed the obſtacles which they threw in the way, there ſtill remains ſome prejudices to conquer; habitude is yet to be changed; many different intereſts to conciliate, conſequences to guard againſt, and inconveniencies to prevent: it is true, the inconveniencies will be but momentary, but their firſt effect will ever be embarraſſing. The eyes a long time deprived of light, cannot enjoy it

it in the moment of being opened. Let us once more praiſe the wiſdom of the miniſter, who, wiſhing for good, does it with circumſpection; this willingneſs alone, announced by facts, muſt be very encouraging to the free Americans.

Lord Sheffield has enumerated the articles which the United States have at preſent, to give in exchange for merchandize, which is carried to them from Europe. This enumeration preſents the ſame motives of encouragement to the commerce of France, as to that of England, and, in many reſpects, ſtill greater. Tobacco, pot-aſh, iron, naval timber, and proviſions of every kind; flax-ſeed, rice, flower, whale oil, ſpermaceti, the productions of the great fiſhery; tar, veſſels, furs, indigo, &c. are every where great articles of commerce, and already ſufficient, by interior conſumption, and the different combinations of exterior commerce, to pay for a great quantity of the productions of the ſoil and workſhops of France.*

* Lord Sheffield has made a liſt of the different articles imported into the Britiſh iſlands, from the different provinces of North America, and from the iſlands of Newfoundland, Bahama and Bermudas, from the beginning of the year 1770, to that of the year 1771. This liſt preſents a reſult of eighty-ſix millions of livres tournois. In the table of the ſame importations, but confined to that part of America which forms the United States, theſe importations amount to upwards of thirty-ſix millions of livres a year, from 1771 to 1775, incluſive. Theſe eſtimations are made according to the accounts taken from the American Cuſtom-houſes.

I will treat but of a few of theſe articles on account of the particular attention which they all merit.

SECTION I.

Tobacco.

Of all the articles which France may procure from the United States, tobacco is the moſt important one to the inhabitants of the two countries. If it cannot be claſſed with our moſt urgent neceſſities, it follows them ſo cloſe, that excepting caſes wherein a deprivation of it is an effect of diſguſt, it ordinarily diſcovers the laſt degree of miſery.

We muſt not be ſurprized at its general uſe. The man greedy of ſenſations, has found one lively enough in tobacco: it is perhaps the only one which he can enjoy at pleaſure without injuring his health, diminiſhing his ſtrength, or ſuſpending his work or meditations. Tobacco awakens the mind agreeably, and obſervers who have remarked the innocent pleaſure, the ſpecies of inſtantaneous comfort, which a little tobacco procures to a poor man, borne down by the weight of affliction, have always wiſhed that ſo ſimple an enjoyment ſhould be improved and become leſs and leſs expenſive; and

and they cannot reflect without horror on the crime of that fiſcal induſtry, which, hardened by monopoly to encreaſe its profits, adulterates ſnuff ſo much, as to make it pernicious to health.

The conſumption of tobacco muſt therefore become more and more conſiderable, and the commerce of this leaf, already very important, cannot be decreaſed but by the diminution of its cultivation, by the ſhackles of monopoly, and the ſacrifices which monopoliſers make to inſure their profits.

The cultivation of tobacco, is by no means proper for the European States, which have acquired population enough to cultivate all their good lands; the reaſon of this is clear.

The ſoil of theſe ſtates is almoſt generally charged with conſiderable taxes. The labourer cannot think of them, without anxiouſly meaſuring the quantity of his work, which they abſorb at his expence, and his greateſt hope is in waiting for the revolution of the year, without having encreaſed his miſery by debts. He ſighs for a change of ſituation, and in this deplorable ſtate, he hears cities cried up, the fortunes made therein by commerce, arts, ſervitude, and profeſſions of every kind. He ſees but the favourable ſide, the ſad reverſe is concealed from him; he eaſily believes, that if he could but become an inhabitant of a city, he ſhould avoid impoſts, and a leſs painful

labour would produce him an hundred times as much as his plough is worth to him.

This ſtate of things cannot be favourable to country population; on the contrary, there muſt reſult from it a tendency to depopulation more or leſs near at hand, and conſequently to a ſterility of lands, or to their leaſt productions. Yet it is important to each of the principal European ſtates, to gather from its own ſoil a ſufficient quantity of proviſions neceſſary to ſubſiſtence, not to be obliged to have recourſe to ſtrangers; therefore they ought to be careful to preſcribe all cultivation, whoſe production ſerves neither for food not raiment.

Tobacco ought to be ſo much the more included in this proſcription, as its cultivation does not proſper but in the beſt lands, and that it ſoon exhauſts them, unleſs they be abundantly manured. Already poſſeſſing a ſoil which might be better employed in the production of articles of the firſt neceſſity, tobacco deprives the neighbouring ſoil alſo of its part in the diviſion of manure.

Therefore, thoſe ſpeculators were deceived, who, animated with good views, and regretting the conſiderable ſums remitted abroad to pay for tobacco, deſired that its cultivation ſhould become national. The fiſcal ſpeculation oppoſed this in France; which is a good it has produced among the

the many evils with which it may be reproached.*

The diſadvantage of the culture of tobacco is already perceived, by the independant Americans, who have hitherto furniſhed the greateſt part of the tobacco conſumed in Europe.

The Virginians plant no more of it, except in lands which they clear. The too great abundance of nouriſhing moiſture, by which the low lands are particularly diſtinguiſhed, not permitting them to ſow a new ſoil with grain proper for food, they plant tobacco in it for the firſt two or three years. The production, aided by the extreme fertility of the ſoil, is then advantageous: it ceaſes to be ſo, the moment the nouriſhing moiſture becomes leſs abundant? if after this, habitude or ignorance makes the Virginians continue in the culture of tobacco, its production does not pay his expences; his ſlaves badly fed, exhauſt their ſtrength by labour, become more painful; children periſh on the drained breaſts of the negro women, worn out with fatigue; the maſter, far from having it in his power to encreaſe his enjoy-

 ments,

* This error of ſome writers, who are authorities, comes without doubt, from their believing, that there are lands which are proper to this production only: but all lands proper for the production of tobacco, are more ſo for that of articles of the firſt neceſſity. If the Alſaciens have not yet abandoned this cultivation, if they boaſt even of it, it is becauſe the facility of ſmuggling raiſes the price of tobacco conſiderably among them. But the general adminiſtrator of a kingdom ought to attach no conſideration to a like profit, circumſcribed within a province.

ments, and to diſtribute happineſs around him, contracts debts, and miſery preſently falls upon his poſſeſſions, which offer nothing but the image of devaſtation cauſed by fire or an enemy.

Such is the effect of the cultivation of tobacco, as ſoon as it can be no longer carried on in new lands, entirely fertilized by the remains of that vegetable matter, collected in thoſe deſert countries for a long ſucceſſion of ages.

Therefore, Virginia, which formerly produced eighty thouſand hogſheads of tobacco,* produces no more

* A hogſhead of tobacco weighs ſeven hundred pounds; a Virginian wholly employed in this culture, can ſcarcely reap a hogſhead of it, if he cultivates corn enough for his own nouriſhment and that of his family; the hogſhead produces him ten pounds Virginia money; he muſt buy with this ſum, his own cloaths, thoſe of his family, and many other neceſſaries. Therefore, ſo far is he from gaining, that he runs in debt. On the contrary, a Virginian who cultivates corn, reaps a hundred buſhels of it in the place of a hogſhead of tobacco, and theſe hundred buſhels produce him thirty pounds Virginia money; beſides, with this cultivation he may have Indian corn, forrage, &c. may feed pigs and cattle, and may ſalt proviſions. Therefore every thing proſpers in the poſſeſſion of a Virginian labourer. The negroes are well fed, cloathed and very healthy; thoſe of the planters are in the oppoſite extreme, the cultivation of tobacco, leaving them no repoſe, and offering no recompence, ſoon wears them out.

The Virginians who cultivate corn, eaſily pay taxes, and are enabled to diſcharge their debts. Thoſe who cultivate nothing but tobacco, pay impoſts with difficulty, and are overwhelmed with debt. The ſame ſtate of things exiſts in Maryland, and in South Carolina, where, in a very little time, nothing will be ſeen but a few tobacco plants, cultivated about habitations, as in ſome ſtate of the North, wherein this little culture is abandoned to the negroes, as a reward or an encouragement.

more than the half of that quantity, and although peace has a little re-animated the culture of the tobacco leaf by an encreaſe of price, it does not incline leſs to decadency, by the inconteſtable advantage which the Virginians find at preſent, in prefering to it the culture of wheat, Indian corn, hemp, cotton, &c.

This experience is deciſive for France, where none of thoſe rich lands are known, which may be prepared as in America, to produce corn by a firſt cultivation of tobacco. It is therefore the intereſt of France to get tobacco from abroad, but it muſt be paid for by her manufactures: ſhe may enjoy this advantage more fully with free America than with any other country. I will not repeat the reaſons of it; I will obſerve only, that the free Americans, having an immenſe extent of lands which cannot be cleared but in the courſe of ſeveral centuries, muſt have for a long time to come, tobacco to ſend to Europe, ſince this production pays with uſury the expences of clearing.

It is true, that the cultivation of tobacco in America, muſt be farther and farther from the ſea, and that the expences of carriage may become ſo conſiderable, as to make its exportation to Europe no longer advantageous.

But different conſiderations place this epocha at a diſtance; firſt, in cultivating tobacco in none but abſolutely new lands, the cultivation is much leſs expenſive, and the produce conſiderably more

abundant; conſequently it will coſt much leſs in a new ſoil, than when the ſoil requires more labour and manure. Secondly, America interſected in every direction by rivers and lakes, has infinite reſources for rendering water carriage every where eaſy, and conſequently never expenſive. It is eaſy to multiply canals, and conſequently communications: no part of the world is ſo much favoured in this reſpect as America. Thirdly, The banks of the Ohio and the Miſſiſſippi, offer immenſe lands to be cleared; the Ohio falls into the Miſſiſſippi, which falls in its turn into the ſea; theſe two rivers are almoſt every where navigable, and the lands near them, produce already excellent tobacco, and will continue to do ſo for a long time.*

Fourthly, If the price of tobacco ſhould be encreaſed by the difficulty of cultivation, France would

* We cannot ſigh too much at that narrow policy of Spain, which would ſhut out the free Americans from all communication with the ſea by the Miſſiſſippi. How is it, that ſhe cannot perceive, that her mercantile intereſts invites her, on the contrary, to favour this navigation, by erecting ſtore houſes upon the banks of this river near to its mouth? Is ſhe ignorant of the advantages of depoſitories? And with reſpect to her political intereſt, is there a greater one for her in theſe countries, than to make herſelf immediately neceſſary to American eſtabliſhments, within the reach of the Ohio? Muſt ſhe wait till they adopt other means? What will be gained by creating diſcontent among a free people? If it be wiſhed that theſe people ſhould not become powerful, they muſt be deſtroyed; and if this barbarity belongs not to the eighteenth century, it is neceſſary to make friends of them. Expedients in politics are childiſh and vain.

would not feel the difference, if the free Americans preferring the culture, continued to want European manufactures, and gave the preference to thoſe of France. According to this ſyſtem, the exchange of merchandize manufactured in France for the productions of the ſoil of America, may be ſtill made with advantage, if even theſe productions were ſold in France below the firſt coſt in America. We have long ſeen the French commerce of the Levant produce great profits, although the merchandize brought in return, was ſold leſs dear in France, than it coſt at the place even where it was produced. This circumſtance ſtill exiſts.

Therefore the ſpeculation, moſt to the intereſt of the French government, is to take as much tobacco as France can conſume from the free Americans, and pay for it with her manufactures. The tobacco leaf, of which the farmers general have the excluſive ſale, produces to the king a neat revenue of twenty-eight or twenty-nine millions of livres, and to obtain this, tobacco has been raiſed to a price beyond a poſſibility of encreaſing it, without cauſing greater contraband, or running the riſk of diminiſhing the conſumption. Yet government ought to expect to be ſooner or later ſolicited to augment the price of tobacco; for it is probable, that it will become dearer in the places where it is produced. Now the neceſſity of this augmentation will be prevented or retarded by receiving this article,

article, in a more direct manner, in exchange for the produce of manufactures; moreover, all things equal, the advantages which the laſt would receive, would replace a diminution in the revenue, by as great an improvment in its other branches.

But this deſirable exchange cannot exiſt under the preſent management. The farmers general are not merchants. Contented with a certain profit on the monopoly, of which they pay dearly for the privilege, they concern themſelves but little, whether this monopoly can be farmed in a manner more or leſs favourable to the nation or not; perhaps they are reſtrained even in this reſpect, by the reduction of their profits, and by the oppoſition more and more expenſive, which they are obliged to ſupport againſt the induſtry of French ſubjects, whoſe intereſts they combat.

The farm buys twenty-three or twenty-four million weight of tobacco, ſuppoſe it be thirty-three thouſand hogſheads, for which it expends at leaſt ſeven or eight millions of livres tournois, without including the expences of carriage. A greater quantity might be ſent to France by free America, without encreaſing the price there, ſince Virginia alone, reduced to the half of its former production, furniſhes forty thouſand hogſheads.

This is therefore a property of almoſt eight millions of livres in tobacco, which might be exchanged for French merchandize to the ſame amount, furniſhed directly from the States, if tobacco

bacco became merchantable; that is, if on arriving from Americ, it found in France ſeveral purchaſers in competion with each other.

This competion is neceſſary to free the fitters out of veſſels, from the fear of being in the power of monopoliſers, and to encourage them to attempt exchanges with the Americans.

Without ſuch a competition, merchants will never claſs tobacco among certain returns. The free Americans will bring it with timidity; the French will be ſtill more fearful of buying it in America, and interior monopoly will make another ſpecies of monopoly neceſſary in America, even equally fatal to this commerce; for if on one hand tobacco be neceſſary to the farm, on the other it is the farm alone which can ſell it in France: therefore none of it will be brought to this country but by an expreſs order, with which an expreſs commiſſioner will be always charged.

Nothing ſolid can be oppoſed to this natural conſequence of the preſent ſtate of things. Encouragements, premiums, free ports, depoſitories, to avoid ſelling if the farm will not pay a proper price, all theſe expedients are ſo many palliatives in which the fitters out of veſſels will not twice confide. Wherever merchandize cannot be purchaſed but by an expreſs and privileged commiſſioner, it cannot arrive there, but upon a previous convention made with the perſon privileged, and belongs no longer to general commerce.

Will

It will be ſaid, that the farm muſt always pay for the tobacco which it purchaſes; therefore the fitters out of veſſels, who ſhall carry our manufactures to America, will find there, drafts upon the farm; they will take them in payment of their merchandizes, and will be able to freight their veſſels back with tobacco for the farmers general.

This anſwer will appear ſpecious to thoſe only who are ignorant of that which determines merchants. I have obſerved, that whatever may be attempted to the contrary, the commiſſion for purchaſing tobacco for the farm, will be always confided to a ſingle commiſſioner; from that moment he cannot be obliged to wait the convenience of the importers of French merchandize into America, for his reimburſements and the diſpatch of tobacco. This commiſſioner of the farm, cannot be prevented from previouſly forming particular combinations relative to his reimburſements, and to the employment of the advances which ſhall be due to him. Speculations relative to his own expeditions cannot be forbidden him; in a word, he cannot be obliged to make his own convenience coincide with that of fitters out of veſſels, who will have to bring back the product of their merchandizes.

It is not only neceſſary that theſe fitters out, ſhould have a variety of articles of return to chooſe from, but that theſe ſhould be within their reach at the moment they are in need of them, and that

no

no law ſhould determine their choice, but that of the profit after which they ſeek. This law is ſo different according to time, place and perſons, that money or bills of exchange, are often ſent from two cities at the ſame time, and from one to the other; which exchange might have been made, without reſearches and loſs of time; inconveniencies to which merchants never expoſe themſelves voluntarily.

It would take up too much time to enter into other diſcuſſions: all well informed and impartial merchants, will agree with me, that tobacco will never be a commodious and uſeful article of return, to the general commerce between France and the United ſtates, but in proportion, as it ſhall be rendered merchantable in France, in all the extent of the expreſſion, from the moment of its arrival, to that of its being put into the box of the conſumer.

But how is tobacco to become merchantable in France? How can it be taken from the hands of monopoliſers, and ſtill preſerve the revenue of twenty eight millions, which the monoply of it produces, and which revenue it would be difficult to replace in the preſent ſtate of things? This problem deſerves to be diſcuſſed with attention; for if France wiſhes to eſtabliſh commercial connexions of importance with America, ſhe will accompliſh this end ſo much the more fully, as ſhe ſhall rank to-

bacco in the claſs of articles whoſe interior conſumption is not ſubjected to any monopoly.

An examination of this queſtion, however far it may lead us, is intereſting to the two nations: it cannot be diſpleaſing to the French government, for it has itſelf ſo much perceived the neceſſity of putting tobacco upon a merchantable footing, to favour the opening of the commerce between France and the United States, that it has charged a particular committee, ſpecially to employ itſelf in the conſideration of tobacco under this point of view.

The Marquis of la Fayette, propoſed laſt year in this committee, an abolition of the monopoly of this production. It may be eaſily imagined, that the propoſition produced warm diſcuſſions with the deputies from the farm.

The Marquiſs recapitulated their calculations, and founding upon their baſis, even an eſtabliſhment of a duty on entry of thirty-two ſols and a half per pound, he demonſtrated that this duty would not only be ſufficient to make good the twenty-eight millions to the State, but would produce, beſides the ſix millions for the expences of collection, and the prevention of contraband, a profit of ten per cent to the principal adminiſtrator, and a ſtill farther ſum not inconſiderable.

Afterwards, making an expoſition of his own calculations, he demonſtrated that his new ſyſtem would lead to a greater conſumption of tobacco, that

that this tobacco would be at once cheaper and of a better quality, and that the kingdom would be delivered from the vexations and diſorders occaſioned by monopoly; a ſtill greater advantage, hitherto badly appropriated, even in calculating according to the propoſed end of the fiſcal, and which was reſerved for the ſenſible mind of M. de la Fayette, to develope in an intereſting manner.

Let it be permitted me, to ſtop for a moment and contemplate the new and affecting ſpectacle which this diſcuſſion preſents;—and to addreſs to this young and generous Frenchman, the homages of that peaceful philoſophy, which never admired any thing in military exploits, but the only praiſe worthy end, that of favouring liberty, and with it the progreſs of light and reaſon. M. de la Fayette has contributed by his valour to avenge the Americans; he endeavours at preſent to extend their commerce and that of his country. May he purſue this uſeful career with equal ſucceſs!

The general farm rejected the calculations of M. de la Fayette, but without deſtroying them. I regret not having it in my power to publiſh herein, the details of this contradictory diſcuſſion, as it is perhaps, the firſt time that the queſtion on the beſt manner of conciliating the impoſt on tobacco, with the liberty of its commerce has been ſubmitted to ſuch preciſe calculations, and my regret is ſo much the greater, as theſe calculations would throw a light on my own.

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The means propoſed by M. de la Fayette, is eſſentially the only good one to fulfil the end which the committee propoſed to itſelf; but I think the obligation impoſed on the proprietor or ſeller of tobacco in the leaf, of paying the whole duty on its entry into the kingdom, brings on many inconveniencies.

In the firſt place, this advance is conſiderable on a merchandize which is ſcarcely worth the fifth part of the duty it pays; conſequently it diſcourages and renders more difficult the purchaſe of tobacco as an article of return. It is a great principle in commerce to avoid uſeleſs advances, when even an obligation is given to return them. This is the defect of Engliſh *drawbacks*.

Secondly, In this ſyſtem, it will be neceſſary, in order to favour importation, not to require duty but at the moment of ſending the tobacco from the French ſea port, to the interior part of the kingdom, and hence reſults the neceſſity of eſtabliſhing free ports; but on the other hand, to reſtrain ſmuggling, theſe ports muſt be limited, and ſtore houſes rigorouſly regulated, eſtabliſhed in each of them, which would ſhackle commerce in ſeveral ways.

Thirdly, The whole duty of tobacco required on its entering the kingdom, would deprive France of the commerce of exporting manufactured tobacco, which ſhe may carry on and render conſiderable. For the method of reimburſements of duties

duties on the frontiers to favour this foreign commerce, cannot be proper for this kingdom; they create many embarraſſments, inconveniences and acts of injuſtice, which, by the nature of things, it is equally impoſſible to avoid or puniſh.

The conditions of the problem are; *To find a means of dividing and ſub-dividing theſe thirty-two ſols and a half, combined in ſuch a manner, as notwithſtanding tobaccos becoming merchantable, this duty ſhall not induce ſmuggling, nor make it neceſſary to pay an army of inſpectors; that it ſhall ſuffer no diminution, nor cauſe it either in the conſumption or quality of tobacco.* I think I have found the ſolution: but before I hazard my ideas on the ſubject, it may not be improper to anſwer to an objection, become, if not more ſtrong, at leaſt more credited by the ſpecies of aſſent given to it in a work juſtly celebrated.

An objection is made againſt the liberty of this commerce, that it eſtabliſhes a competition in purchaſes made abroad, which occaſions a greater dearneſs of the article, and conſequently a greater expence to obtain it, than if the power of purchaſing was confined to one perſon.

But facts, and the nature of things conſidered in their whole extent, are abſolutely contrary to this objection. It is not true even with reſpect to productions, whoſe quanity ſhould be irrevocably limited; for then purchaſers in competition, would ſoon know how to unite, in order not to oppoſe a ſingle

offer to a ſingle ſeller, and it frequently happens, that this man is the dupe of his own avidity, when he wiſhes to abuſe the ſole poſſeſſion of like productions, to give the law to purchaſers.

However it may be, tobacco is not in this ſituation; it is a production of which the quantity is unlimited; it may be reduced or encreaſed according to the convenience of the cultivator. If there be but little demand, the price will be lowered, and the culture will diminiſh, as ſoon as this fall of price eſſentially attacks the profit of the cultivator; if the demand be conſiderable, it will raiſe the price; this will augment the culture by the allurement of profit, and this augmentation will not be long in re-eſtabliſhing moderation in the price.*

This is the immutable law of action and reaction, in the produce and conſumption of articles of commerce. Give them entire liberty, and the quantity of productions will be always in ſuch a pro-

* Whenever exceptions are, or may hereafter be made to this rule, you will find, that liberty is reſtrained by ſome attempt, more or leſs concealed or feared. It is a voluntary or an involuntary miſunderſtanding of this ſubject, which eternalizes the queſtion on the liberty of the commerce of grain. It ſeems as if men were afraid of being accounted ignorant, in drawing no corollaries but from the ſimple *nature of things*. It might be ſaid, that in matters of political oeconomy, the human mind cannot receive honour from its conceptions, but in proportion to their diſtance from the rules of arithmetic.

proportion to conſumption, that the labour and advances neceſſary to the production, will never fail to render profits nearly equal to the reaſonable wants of the labourer and ſubſcriber.

If ſome momentary exceptions are made to this law, it is from an ignorance or diſſimulation of their real cauſes, that ſpecious arguments are drawn againſt the law itſelf. It is clear, for inſtance, that if the inſtant, wherein the privileges of a company ceaſes, has not been foreſeen, the concourſe of merchants who immediately divide among them the commerce of this company, cauſes, in the country where purchaſes are made, a riſe in the price of merchandize, which was bought before by none but privileged perſons; but this avidity, which makes each of the new comers wiſh to have as great a ſhare as poſſible, does not abandon them when it is neceſſary to ſell; and the diſadvantageous competition which they enter into again with each other at the ſale, ſoon teaches them what bounds they ought to preſcribe to themſelves in future. It happens alſo, that liberty reſtored, diſcovers the means of a greater conſumption, and that this circumſtance keeps up high prices; but this dearneſs continues no longer than the time neceſſary to reduce the production, to the proportion of the new conſumption, and thoſe who know men and things, know that the moment is never long in coming. But when the end of a monopoly is foreſeen, when it is certain that

it will not be renewed, it happens almoſt conſtantly, that, in countries where purchaſes were made for it, great preparations are made for the moment of liberty, and ſuch as ſurpaſs even the quantities which can be bought by the different competitors, who ſucceed the privileged company, and then no augmentation of price is felt.

Let thoſe who reſiſt evidence on this matter,* conſider the general ſtate of foreign importations: the

* In fact, the want of competition in purchaſing, moſt commonly prevents its being effected at a low price. It cannot be denied, that manufacturers, as well as cultivators, are naturally inclined to produce more than the demands of purchaſers require, however great their numbers may be, as ſoon as the laſt are in competition. It muſt be equally acknowleged, that manufacturers and cultivators confine their productions within the quantities required when they are afraid of the law of a ſingle purchaſer; for they have but this means of eſcaping his tyranny, and this circumſtance tends neceſſarily to ſupport high prices, becauſe there is leſs produce than demand; conſequently the queſtion is decided againſt privileged companies.

Into what a ſtate of miſery had the Engliſh reduced Ireland, in withholding from it exterior commerce? The manufacturers fearing the tyranny of the Engliſh, the only purchaſers or conſumers, ſoon deſerted their workſhops, and the few who perſevered, ſold for interior conſumption, bad merchandize at a high price, and of which they were ſtill afraid of making too great a quantity.

The fertile countries of Bengal and Indoſtan, tend to this decay, by the natural effect of the monopoly by the Eaſt India Company. Fine linens and fine muſlins are as ſcarce there, as they were formerly abundant. Still, if theſe companies, which carry their deſtructive influence to the place of production, favoured the national manufactures by the high price they demand, interior good would perhaps reſult from exterior evil; but they are indefatigable in

the articles of this exportation left to the liberty of commerce, are in a much greater number than those which are enveloped in monopoly. Therefore an artificial dearneſs abroad is to be remarked, in every thing which cannot be bought but in competition, as a little dearneſs is ſeen at home in every foreign production ſold by monopoliſers. Yet experience proves the contrary. A great number of merchants purchaſe abroad in competition, to ſell again in France, many kinds of firſt materials neceſſary to her manufactures, or for other habitual conſumptions, and it does not appear, that this competition in buying, renders them more dear, than ſalaries, advances, intereſts and profits ſufficient to give exiſtence to theſe materials.

If it were again objected, that theſe materials are no more than ſupplements to thoſe which France herſelf produces, and that conſequently this interior production eſtabliſhed a counterpoiſe, which prevents too great a dearneſs of the foreign production; I would anſwer, that there are materials conſumed in France, to which this counterpoiſe cannot be applied, and yet, which offer nothing extraordinary in the price at which they are bought abroad.

Let

in their general oppoſition to every thing which may create obſtacles to their avidity. There is no experienced perſon but doubts, for inſtance, that the French manufacturer has every thing to fear from the new East India privileged company.

Let me add, that although the cultivation of tobacco were proſcribed in France, which it ought to be, there would ſoon be tobacco in the kingdom, and which would come from other countries beſides America, if the liberty of buying* given in the United States, to every fitter out of a veſſel, cauſed there a ſenſible encreaſe in the price of that leaf; for the Eaſt of Europe offers alſo immenſe countries, where civilization extends itſelf, and where it will be convenient for a long time, to cultivate tobacco as in America.

No, the partizans of the liberty of commerce, who affirm, that this liberty alone, produces, not only the moſt juſt proportions between qualities and demands, but ſtill the moſt equitable prices, are not led away by *the power of words*, with which they have been too lightly accuſed. They have in their favour, facts, logic, and leſſons of experience.†

Con-

* The reader will recollect, that the liberty of buying, is nothing without the liberty of ſelling. Every fitter out of a veſſel, may buy tobacco in America and bring it to France, but he cannot ſell it there except to the general farm, which is an equivalent to a prohibition from buying, a prohibition more religiouſly obſerved than any other; for it is pronounced by the intereſt of the fitter out of the veſſel.

† If the ſyſtem of liberty has not yet prevailed, it is becauſe perſerverance and a great habitude of obſervation and reflection are neceſſary to eſtabliſh it. Without this habitude, it is difficult in the train of affairs, to trace all the equivocal circumſtances which be-

Convinced therefore, that the ſyſtem of liberty of commerce, unites every thing in its favour, and is prejudicial to no intereſts but thoſe of monopoly, I will lay open my idea, however imperfect it may be, on the manner of collecting the duty of entry on tobacco in leaf, propoſed by the Marquis of la Fayette.*

The more a duty impoſed on a production is conſiderable, the more it induces fraud; and fraud is, in this caſe, ſo much the more ſeducing, and ſo much the greater and more difficult to repreſs, as the firſt coſt of tobacco is inconſiderable compared with the duty. A pound of tobacco, put into a ſtate of ſale to the conſumer, coſts ſcarcely twelve

long, ſometimes to the intrigues of monopoly, but, for the moſt part, to the falſe notions and regulating mania from which no commercial nation has yet known how to preſerve itſelf; circumſtances which the partiſans of the coercive ſyſtem do not fail to quote freely as the effects of liberty.

* Without doubt, a direct impoſt would be preferable to all theſe inventions, which, however happy they may be, will always have great inconveniences, from which a direct impoſt would be exempt. Without doubt the impoſt on tobacco, however it may be boaſted of is at the bottom a territorial impoſition, whoſe double and treble diſguiſe charges it on land, without bringing into the State coffers, as much as it pays for that purpoſe. But is the great revolution which will place the impoſt immediately upon its proper baſis near at hand? It is permitted to doubt of it; and in the mean time, by endeavouring to give to ſome impoſts, forms which may be conciliated with the liberty of commerce, is working to diminiſh the weight of impoſts of every kind; for the reſources which this liberty has to enrich the State are infinite.

twelve ſols to the general farm, whilſt the conſumer pays four livres for it. Conſequently it leaves a profit of ſixty-eight ſols. Can a greater allurement be thrown out to ſmuggling? How many genteel profeſſions are leſs lucrative than the fraudulent one of tobacco? Is it ſurpriſing that it has been neceſſary to erect gibbets to ſuppreſs it, and that theſe rigours, a thouſand times more criminal than the offence, have always been uſeleſs?

The general farm ſells about fifteen million weight of tobacco; theſe fifteen millions ſuppoſe, on account of the decreaſe in the manufacture, that the farm buys twenty-three million four hundred thouſand weight in the leaf: it is this tobacco in the leaf, which M. de la Fayette propoſed, to ſubject to a duty on entry of thirty-two ſols and a half per pound; and it is this duty which would produce thirty-eight million one hundred and eighty thouſand five hundred livres tournois; from which, taking thirty millions for the king, there would remain upwards of eight millions for the expences of managing this new ſyſtem, and for the emoluments of the farmers or regiſſeurs.*

Therefore it is ſeen at firſt ſight, that M. de la Fayette propoſed a ſimple regimen, which, in render-

* The expences of the general farm on tobacco, do not amount to ſix millions: it does expend more than eight even in its oppoſition to ſmugglers.

rendering to free commerce tobacco, would have augmented, and not diminiſhed, the finance which the ſtate draws from it.

Why had his propoſition no ſucceſs? of this I am ignorant; but I have obſerved, that this duty left ſtill too powerful an allurement to ſmuggling. Therefore, it creates a neceſſity of preſerving a great eſtabliſhment of guards deſtined to prevent fraud. This neceſſity has undoubtedly furniſhed the general farm with a ſpecious pretext for rejecting the change.

In fact, as ſoon as guarding is neceſſary, and guarding at a great expence, the general farm having at its command an army of inſpectors, which would continue to be neceſſary to it, after tobacco was taken from it, even offers an oeconomy in employing the ſame people againſt ſmugglers of tobacco. But how would the farm conſent to it for other intereſts than its own? This conſideration would put it into a ſtate to oblige adminiſtration to confide the collection of this new duty to its cares; and hence it is not ſurprizing, that a refuſal to concur in any change joined to ſome other circumſtances, has induced government to leave things in their preſent ſtate.

It would therefore be advantageous, to give to the collection of this duty, a form which would inſure at once the revenue to the ſtate, and render uſeleſs the intervention of the general farm. This form ſhould undoubtedly be ſuch as would make

it

it the intereſt of the manufacturers and ſellers of tobacco, to guard againſt ſmuggling, or otherways it would become to them a diſcouraging ſcourge. Such is the end which I have had in view, in the ſyſtem of the impoſt I propoſe on tobacco. The reader will judge whether or not I have attained it.

This ſyſtem offers a great advantage: it permits a hope that the duty even of thirty-two ſols and a half, propoſed by the Marquis of la Fayette, may be ſome day reduced, ſince in this ſyſtem there is no need of ſo high a duty, to procure to the ſtate the revenue which it draws at preſent from the impoſt on tobacco. Nevertheleſs, in order to place my method within the reach of compariſon, with that of M. de la Fayette, as well as with that of the general farm, and to make the advantage of it perceived, I will take the ſame baſis as the Marquiſs has done, and begin with the duty of thirty-two ſols and a half.

Let us firſt ſee by what means the ſmuggling which M. de la Fayette propoſes to deſtroy, will be moſt ſurely avoided.

If the ſmuggling of tobacco be ſeducing by the profits which it offers, it muſt be agreed on the other hand, that it is not difficult to prevent it. The odour of this production, is ſtrong enough to make the ſmuggler fear of being betrayed; conſequently he can only introduce it ſlowly and in ſmall quantities.

The

The true means of preventing the ſmuggling of tobacco in the leaf, is to charge it with a moderate duty on entry. It is heavy and bulky: the expences and riſks are in theſe caſes conſiderable. Much expence, great riſk, and little gain, are ſufficient to prevent fraud.

Five ſols a pound duty on the entry of tobacco in leaf, would produce, without offering an allurement to ſmuggling, a revenue of five million eight hundred thouſand livres. This moderate impoſt preſents a double advantage. It takes away the neceſſity of poſting odious inſpectors on the frontiers; and without aggrieving the importers of tobacco in leaf by great advance, it neither reſtrains nor diſcourages the fitters out of veſſels from chooſing this production in America, for an article of exchange.

This ſyſtem makes the ſmuggling of manufactured tobacco no longer to be feared; for it would be impoſſible that any manufacture of tobacco, ſhould be eſtabliſhed in the interior of the kingdom, if government were not willing to permit it. Theſe manufactures require ſpace and workmen enough to exclude all poſſibility of ſecrecy. Therefore, any manufacture of tobacco may be prevented at a little expence, from being eſtabliſhed without permiſſion, and this permiſſion may be ſold.

The general farm has ten manufactures, which furniſh among them to interior ſale, fifteen million pounds

pounds weight of manufactured tobacco. It has been ſeen, that theſe fifteen millions, ſuppoſed a purchaſe of twenty-three million four hundred thouſand pounds weight, in the leaf. In ſubjecting the manufacturers, who ſhall obtain a permiſſion, to the payment of a ſum equivalent to ten ſols, for each of theſe pounds, there would be a produce of eleven million ſeven hundred thouſand livres; ſo that there are already found fifteen ſols of the thirty-two and a half, propoſed by M. de la Fayette.

In this regimen, tobacco not manufactured, delivered at the door of the manufacturer would coſt him but twenty-eight ſols, eight twelfths of a pound; but there it acquires an encreaſe of value, by the workmanſhip which prepares it for conſumption.

I am not ſufficiently informed on this ſubject, to appreciate with exactitude this augmentation: It muſt be compoſed of the amount of the waſte by the manufacture of raw tobacco; of the expences of the manufacturer, and of the profits due to him. But firſt, how can this waſte be calculated? I cannot do it but by approximation.

It is known, that in foreign manufactures, it is eſteemed at no more than thirty per cent.* and I think,

* This decreaſe of thirty per cent. is reduced to a trifle abroad: It comes from the edges of the leaf.—Theſe are burried at the general farm, for reaſons unknown to me: they are employed in foreign manufactures.—Pigtail tobacco is made of them, for the uſe of thoſe who chew: ſea-faring people, and the inhabitants of ſea ports, conſume a conſiderable quantity of this tobacco; this habitude

think, I do not depart from truth, in allowing for the waſte, for the expences of preparation, and for the augmentation to be made on the duty of fifteen ſols, already paid, which muſt be found again in a quantity reduced by the manufacturing, nine ſols, four-twelfths per pound of manufactured tobacco. This comes therefore, to thirty ſols a pound to the manufacturer.

An article of ſuch general uſe, never remains long in the ſtorehouſe: thus, in ſuppoſing that the manufacturer, takes fifteen per cent. profit, it is the utmoſt; he may, therefore, ſell his tobacco manufactured to the retailer, at thirty-five ſols and a half per pound.*

habitude is looked upon as uſeful to health, at leaſt, it has not hitherto appeared to the contrary. Therefore the farm makes a voluntary loſs of thirty per cent. on the tobacco leaf, which manufacturers in competition would certainly not make. There are other ſecrets in the manufacture, the profits of which, would turn in the hands of competitors, to the advantage of the public, and the extenſion of commerce.

* It has been ſeen in the preceding note, that the decreaſe of thirty per cent. is not a loſs; but I have exaggerated this decreaſe: for ſuppoſing here that the quantity of twenty-three million four hundred thouſand pounds weight of tobacco, produces but fifteen million weight manufactured; and at thirty per cent. waſte, this quantity ought to produce ſixteen million three hundred and eighty thouſand pounds weight, which leaves in favour of my calculation, an abatement of ten per cent. to be made in the eſtimation of every thing which does not belong to the duty of entry. I do not take the humectation of tobacco into my calculation; competition in this ſecret cannot be otherwiſe than advantageous to the public.

But

But there ſtill remains ſeventeen ſols and a half to applyto the duty of thirty-two and a half upon tobacco in the leaf. Theſe ſeventeen ſols and a half ought to be produced by the retail of fifteen million pounds weight, ſince the general farm ſells no more than this quantity manufactured in the provinces included in its leaſe.

Theſe ſeventeen ſols and a half on tobacco in leaf, brings the pound of manufactured tobacco to thirty-five ſols and a half, the price of the manufacturer, to three livres two ſols nine-twelfths; to which muſt be added the profit of the retailer.

The general farm delivers to the retailer, tobacco in powder, at three livres twelve ſols a pound, which conſiſts of ſeventeen ounces.—He ſells it at four livres a pound of ſixteen ounces.—He might ſell it cheaper in this new ſyſtem.

But how will the collection of theſe ſeventeen ſols and a half be made on, ſuppoſing twenty millions ſeventy-five thouſand pounds weight, which are wanting to complete the product of the duty of thirty ſols and a half; it is as follows:

I have obſerved, that it is impoſſible tobacco ſhould be ſecretly manufactured; it is again impoſſible that the ſale of it ſhould be in ſecret, and conſequently that any public retailer of tobacco ſhould eſtabliſh himſelf without the permiſſion of government. This creates new permiſſions to ſell: there are in the kingdom, at leaſt, forty thouſand of theſe retailers; and as they buy tobacco at three

livres

livres twelve ſols a pound, of the general farm; they would not be aggrieved in buying a permiſſion to ſell it, which in reality would be no more than a ſum to reckon in the price of tobacco. They might make this advance ſo much the better, as the manufacturer would ſell them manufactured tobacco at no more than thirty-five ſols and a half a pound, or even ſomething leſs.

Twenty millions four hundred and ſeventy-five thouſand pounds, divided by forty thouſand, make ſomething leſs than five hundred and twelve pounds. The permiſſions to ſell tobacco, would therefore, coſt one with another, five hundred and twelve livres.*

But who would diſtribute theſe permiſſions? The manufacturers and at their own riſk. For if they were not charged with them, they would have the facility of ſelling tobacco to others than authoriſed retailers, and to ellude the ſale duty, with which their manufacture is not charged.

Thus the manufacturers would have two kinds of permiſſions to obtain, that of manufacturing, calculated at the rate of ten ſols a pound of tobacco in leaf, and that of ſelling or cauſing to be ſold, manufactured tobacco. The retailers ſhould be

* It may be underſtood that the diviſions of this ſum ought to be made in unequal portions; for the retailer of a little village would not buy a permiſſion, of which the price ſhould exceed the quantity of his ſales.—I am not in poſſeſſion of the information neceſſary to make this tarif, and moreover, it would be uſeleſs to do it here.

pre-

previouſly appointed to the number of forty thouſand, and according to diviſions, which would render them agreeable to the forty thouſand ſhops, wherein the farm tobacco is now ſold.

In this manner, tobacco could neither be manufactured nor ſold in the kingdom, without a previous permiſſion paid for in money; and as government would confine itſelf to inſure the receipt of thirty-eight millions, it would grant no permiſſion to manufacture, and ſell without having firſt received the number of engagements: which, as well in permiſſions to manufacture, as to ſell, ſhould inſure it this ſum; all but the product of the duty on entry, at the rate of five ſols a pound, which duty would be always received at the frontiers.

The number of manufactures would not be previouſly limited; but none ſhould begin its eſtabliſhments before government had engagements with ſecurity, for a number of manufactures ſufficient to fulfil its object. Thus, the engagements would determine the number of manufactures, and this number would remain fixed for a long time, in order to give the manufacturers a hope, not only of having the whole ſale divided among them, but of the encreaſe of ſale, which their induſtry would procure.

It is important and neceſſary, even in this ſyſtem, to encreaſe theſe manufactures to a more conſiderable number than thoſe of the general farm; for the ſmallneſs of the duty of entry on leaf tobacco,

permitting its admiſſion into every port of the kingdom, and at all the frontiers; it follows, that there ought to be, as much as it is poſſible, manufactories in the neighbourhood where the principal entries ſhould be made, to avoid too great an expence of carriage. Each of theſe manufactures might eſtabliſh its principal conſumption in its own neighbourhood.* A certain number of manufactures is ſtill neceſſary to excite emulation, which extends and animates every kind of commerce, and to prevent the greater or leſſer inconveniencies attached to every limitation of this kind. The difficulties which great and expenſive eſtabliſhments bring on, muſt not be feared; the preparation of tobacco, even the moſt expenſive, requires no workſhop, of which the expences may not be proportioned, without the leaſt diſadvantage to the quantities.

I will enter into no farther detail, it would be uſeleſs: If this form of collecting the duty on

* There are nearly ſix hundred repoſitories of tobacco in the kingdom, beſides the manufacturers and retailers; this proves the neceſſity of encreaſing the number of manufactures.—A hundred would make annually, according to the preſent rate of ſale, to the amount of at leaſt four hundred and fifty thouſand livres. If the produce of foreign conſumption be added, and which this new ſyſtem gives the means of opening, the duty on manufacturing would coſt each of them annually, fifty-eight thouſand five hundred livres, which it would be eaſy to divide into ſeveral payments, each of which would anſwer to four hundred permiſſions to retail, which each manufacture would have to diſtribute.

entry, offers real advantages, I have ſaid enough about it to ſhew, that there is no important difficulty in the way of its execution. Its advantages are evident,—every thing which can ſhackle the commerce of tobacco on the entry of this article into the kingdom, or the free ſpeculation on the importation of it, is prevented, in ſubjecting it to a duty on entry of no more than five ſols a pound; and this duty cannot encourage the ſmuggling of merchandize, ſo bulky as tobacco in leaf is, relative to its value. A hogſhead of tobacco will be always difficult to conceal.

The ſmuggling of manufactured tobacco is too difficult alſo, to excite fear; the encreaſed number of manufacturers, and the numerous retailers, all ſubject to pay for their permiſſions, are ſo many Argufes, whoſe intereſt it is to prevent ſmuggling;* it is ſo much the more ſo, as this ſyſtem leaves to each of them the entire property of his induſtry, after the price of permiſſion, which price I repeat, ought not to be fixed but upon the preſent conſumption. There remains a carreer conſiderable enough to this induſtry to induce manufacturers to

* Forty thouſand retailers, form a good number of guards; they need be only intereſted to inſpect.—As they are ſubject to pay for a permiſſion, their relaxation would cauſe them a more ſenſible loſs than at preſent, when the riſk of retailers conſiſts in nothing but the failure of profit: theſe laſt, may even ſtruggle; in the ſyſtem propoſed, this would be ſoon perceived by the manufacturer diſtributing permiſſions, and being ſecurity for them.

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preſent themſelves; the permiſſions to retail, of which they would be the diſtributers and ſecurity, would not embarraſs them, becauſe retailers exiſt.

There is no doubt but the conſumption of tobacco reſtored to commerce, would encreaſe; that of the tobacco of the general farm, is to the extent of twenty-two millions of perſons, and is no more than fifteen million pounds weight. The activity of competition ought to hope to find in this low proportion an increaſe of ſale, ſo much the more certain, as the nature and properties of tobacco are favourable to conſumption.

What is ſtill more,—manufacturers having it in their power to ſend tobacco abroad, at leſs than thirty-five ſols and a half per pound, this new conſumption would not fail to be eſtabliſhed. It is all to the advantage of the kingdom, it would pay the ſtate the duty of entry, and that of manufacturing: thus, France would acquire a new commerce, of which the monopoly of the farm deprives her againſt the nature of things.

Let it not be ſaid, that the duty of fifteen ſols a pound, received for entry and manufacturing, would be ſo unfavourable to French tobacco, as to put an obſtacle to the ſale of it abroad. Theſe fifteen ſols would be eaſily compenſated by the advantage of an improved manufacture. Tobacco enters in this reſpect into the claſs of thoſe articles, whoſe moderate encreaſe of price, does not prevail over reputation, and interrupts neither their ſale

nor encreaſe. The general farm has demands from abroad, notwithſtanding a price much more conſiderable.*

But will tobacco prepared by manufacturers who have to anſwer for themſelves only, and who have a competition to ſupport, be better than that of the general farm? This is aſking, if in Holland, where there is neither a general farm, nor privileged manufactures, good tobacco be prepared. It is aſking, if in France, the thouſands of productions deſtined to taſte, ſmell,—and, in a word, to ſenſuality; have need of being farmed to be rendered exquiſite†.

Therefore, there will be a conſumption abroad of French tobacco, and this advantage is far from being diſintereſting: It will augment the exporta-

* Theſe demands muſt remain circumſcribed, becauſe it is not agreeable to the farm to diminiſh its price. In this caſe, it will ſee its own tobacco enter by ſmuggling, for its guards will never be ſo efficacious in preventing it, as an increaſed number of individuals intereſted therein. And why ſhould not France ſell her tobacco abroad, and preſerve the duty of fifteen ſols? Good raſped tobacco of Auſtrian Flanders, is ſold there in retail at fifty-two ſols a pound, not compoſed of ſo many ounces as that of France. In Alſace, prime tobacco is ſold at three livres a pound, and yet this article is merchantable in theſe provinces.

† The arrets publiſhed in 1784, by the Parliaments of Grenoble and Aix, prove nothing in favour of the monopoly manufactures. The verbal accounts drawn up in Bretagne, prove that ſeized tobacco was "a compacted maſs, like thoſe lumps of potters clay, "found in quarries—having a ſour and diſagreeable ſmell, pro-"duced by fermentation."

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tions from America to France, and conſequently the importations of France to America. Who knows but the encreaſed receipts of the duties of entry, which foreign conſumption would procure, would not ſoon permit a diminution to be made of the duty on manufactures and ſales? And in that caſe, is it not evident, that interior and exterior conſumption would ſtill encreaſe, and unite two great advantages, the progreſſive encreaſe of the receipt of the duties on tobacco, and a diminution of the price of that production? Advantages which would be due to the manner in which I propoſe the duty on entry to be eſtabliſhed, to which M. de la Fayette has attached the free commerce of tobacco.

Will the incertitude of finding the means of placing forty thouſand permiſſions to retail manufactured tobacco, be an objection; although the price of theſe permiſſions ſhould repreſent a part of the preſent diſburſements of the retailers? This would be a vain apprehenſion: for independently of the preſent retailers, who would have ſtill more reaſons to continue their induſtry; the ſale of tobacco is proper for every ſhop, wherein the numerous articles comprehended in the denomination of groceries, are retailed. The keepers of theſe ſhops, would provide themſelves with a permiſſion, not ſo much for the benefit ariſing from the ſale of tobacco, as to unite to their aſſortments, every thing which might increaſe their cuſtomers. It is known, that

in all theſe ſhops, there are many articles,* which procures to the ſhopkeeper no other advantage, than that of multiplying the occaſions to come to his ſhop. If ſalt were ſold in the ſame manner, by means of a bought permiſſion, every grocer would ſell this article.

It is now time to recapitulate: whatever judgment may be formed of the new method, I propoſe to collect in France the duty on tobacco, in rendering the commerce of it free; whatever reſolution may be taken in this reſpect, it will ſtill be true, that this branch of commerce is one of the moſt important ones to France and the United States.

To leave no doubt of it, I will obſerve, that before the revolution of Engliſh America, England received one year with another, about a hundred thouſand hogſheads of tobacco, ten thouſand of which were ſufficient for her interior conſumption, and eighty thouſand entered into her exchanges with France, Ruſſia, Germany, Flanders, and even Canada. Lord Sheffield, makes tobacco the principal article of American commerce.

So conſiderable an object of traffic does not eſcape, without making efforts either to retain or recall it. On which account England has lately aboliſhed the conſiderable duties heretofore required on the entry of tobacco, with an intention of facilitating depoſitories of American tobacco in

* Sugar is one of them.

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her Cuſtom-houſes. The merchant who imports this production is at preſent permitted to depoſe it therein, on giving a ſimple ſecurity to pay the duties of that which ſhall be deſtined to interior conſumption.

This wiſe conduct of the Engliſh, ought to induce every nation which can open a direct commerce with the United States, to outdo England, with reſpect to the conveniencies and facilities offered by the Engliſh depoſitory; for a free people are ſooner diſguſted than any other by fiſcal reſtraints.

But if the commerce of tobacco be not made free in France, all the facilities offered at preſent to the importation of that leaf will produce no effect; their ſucceſs, if even they have any, will be but momentary, and all the attempts by which it may be wiſhed to conciliate the intereſts of French commerce with thoſe of monopoly,* will be fruitleſs; this has been demonſtrated.

I have demonſtrated, that monopoly is oppoſed to exchanges ſought for, and continued; that it takes from general ſpeculation the articles of which it has made itſelf maſter.

* We may rank among theſe attempts, the premium of twenty-four livres a hogſhead, which the farm has agreed to give on French merchandize, exported in return by American veſſels bringing tobacco. This is like that engagement which the farm made to purchaſe from other perſons than M. Morris a certain quantity of tobacco.—Vain palliatives!

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I have demonſtrated, that liberty will not encreaſe the price of tobacco; that it tends to improve this article; that it will produce in the manufacture of it œconomies, which will permit its being ſold at a lower price than that of the farm; and that conſequently, the ſale will become more extenſive. I am of opinion, that I have demonſtrated the poſſibility of conciliating all theſe advantages with the preſent revenue of the ſtate, even of augmenting it, by impoſing a trifling duty on the entry of leaf tobacco, a more conſiderable one on its manufacture, and a ſtill greater on the ſale.

I acknowledge that this article is a long one, but it is important.—It will appear ſo to perſons who extending their views beyond the preſent, cannot refrain from wiſhing that their country would firmly eſtabliſh its connections with new ſtates, whoſe principles of activity, and extent of country, prepare ſuch great commercial openings and intereſting relations with Europe.

SECTION II.

Fisheries, Whale Oil, &c. Spermaceti Candles.

WHENEVER property is aſſured, whenever men are not debaſed by barbarous laws, they will multiply in proportion to their means of ſubſiſtence.

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This truth is proved by hiſtory—nothing but an abſurd tyranny can ſtop the fecundity of the human ſpecies in places where ſubſiſtence abounds, and is but little expenſive.

And what is wanting to ſtates wherein population is numerous, wherein every thing concurs to cauſe an encreaſe? If government experiences ſudden wants, how eaſily is the burden ſupported, when it reſts on ſo many heads.

What need is there in this caſe, of the dark and fallacious ſyſtem of fiſcality, when there are the means of encreaſing population? What are theſe means? Reſpect the dignity of man, be juſt, and reſtrain not the productions of articles of neceſſity. An eaſy ſubſiſtence, a numerous population, this is the invariable ſyſtem of nature.

Among the articles of ſubſiſtence, which nature has liberally given to men, fiſh is one of the moſt abundant, the moſt eaſy to be procured, and the moſt proper to preſerve their health and ſtrength.* By what fatal privilege is this food confined in France almoſt to the rich? Why does not fiſh abound in all places, where this tribute of the ſea can be received in its original ſtate, and without being charged with the expences of too long a car-

* Such is the powerful influence on population, of the abundance of articles of ſubſiſtence, and eſpecially that of fiſh, that it is principally to this article of life, that the empire of China owes the incredible number of its inhabitants,

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riage? Since it is ſo well known, that it is advantageous to a ſtate, and to every claſs of citizens, to procure an abundance and a variety of eatables, let them come from where they will, or of whatever nature they be, provided they be cheap and wholeſome; why is this political rule departed from, with reſpect to fiſh, to that aliment which nature produces every where, with ſuch fecundity? Whatever may be the motives which may repel it, by an overcharge of duties, they can proceed from nothing but a culpable ignorance.

Fully convinced of the benefit which muſt reſult to mankind from an abundance of proviſions, and from the facility of producing this abundance, in receiving from each nation the ſuperfluity which nature has given it, in preference to any other nation: I ſhall take great care not to copy the narrow ſyſtem of Lord Sheffield with reſpect to fiſheries.—His Lordſhip agrees, that the independent Americans have, for the great fiſhery, natural advantages, with which it is impoſſible for the Europeans to contend.

In fact, the Americans are near that part of the Atlantic where great fiſh abound; therefore, their fiſhery muſt be leſs expenſive to them. If accidents happen, they are ſoon repaired; all their operations are more prompt and ſure; having a greater knowledge of theſe ſeas, they are expoſed to leſs conſiderable riſks: finally, their proximity to the fiſh-

eries,

eries, aſſures them proviſions more freſh,* and puts it in their power to renew them more frequently; conſequently their fiſhermen enjoy more conſtant health, and have older officers and ſailors among them: what precious advantages for the great fiſhery!

The Engliſh have very few of theſe advantages; the French ſcarcely any.—But ought we to conclude with Lord Sheffield from this order of things, that American fiſh ſhould be charged with duties, in order to ſupport the national fiſhery, againſt this competition; The nature of things dictates to France more wiſe and advantageous means.—Fiſh is nouriſhing,—whatever is nouriſhing is prolific: if the Americans fiſh at leſs expence than the French, ſo much the better for the laſt; fiſh will be more abundant, and at a lower price in France. Let government be wiſe enough to open to it its ports; the Americans will bring fiſh into them, and will pay themſelves with either the productions of the ſoil of France, or of her induſtry; and the population to which this abundance and cheapneſs are favourable, will encreaſe the productions of French induſtry.

Moreover, it is neceſſary, either to renounce exterior commerce, or to conſent that there ſhall

* Such is the advantage of the Americans, that they furniſh proviſions to the ſedentary fiſheries of the Engliſh. According to Colonel Champion, the proviſions of Europe are more dear, and not ſo good; the difference in favour of the Americans is in the proportion of four to ſeven; and it cannot be otherwiſe.

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be ſomething to exchange on both ſides. To wiſh to eſtabliſh and encourage a commerce with a foreign nation, and not to leave it to the care of furniſhing that which it collects with the greateſt facility, is a manifeſt contradiction. The enlightened policy of commerce is not to invade all the branches of it, but to do nothing but that which can be done better and cheaper than any other. Therefore, ſince the Americans have fiſh on their coaſts, ſince they are in the neighbourhood of Newfoundland, leave to their induſtry that branch which nature has given to them in preference; let us not diſpute it with them; firſt, becauſe it would be in vain to do it, and in the next place, becauſe France may reap, without fiſhing, more advantageouſly the fruit of the American fiſheries.

"But," ſays Lord Sheffield, "ſailors muſt be "found for the navy; and the fiſheries are the "nurſeries for them; therefore, the fiſheries muſt "be ſupported; and no fiſh conſumed but that "which we take ourſelves; on which account pre-"miums are neceſſary."

There is no doubt, but ſailors are formed in the fiſheries, but it is not in throwing nets or hooks, in curing or preparing fiſh that this is done; it is by a frequent and long exerciſe on board veſſels, in laborious manœuvres, in living, ſo to ſpeak, among rocks, and in ſeas, which the vicinity or nearneſs of oppoſite coaſts makes continually dangerous: now this exerciſe of vigilance, agility and intel-

intelligence, is performed by the ſailor in coaſting and fiſhing on the coaſts of his own country. Let coaſting be frequent, and let not this fiſhery be diſcouraged in France; and it will not be neceſſary, in order to form ſailors, to ſend them ſo far to take fiſh, which they cannot bring to Europe without great expence: by which the conſumption is conſequently limited, and which deprives us of the ineſtimable advantage of receiving in abundance, that which the independent Americans can take at much leſs expence.

Without doubt, the exerciſe of the fiſheries of the North, forms intrepid ſailors; but this painful life muſt be conſented to. But when nature has placed men in a climate where they have but a few ſteps to make to the interior of the country,* to find an occupation exempt from dangers and leſs fatiguing; when they can get their bread upon land, under a clear and calm ſky, if he reaſons, how will he be engaged to truſt his life to boards; to brave icy ſeas, to expoſe himſelf during the fineſt months in the year to perpetual ſtorms, which aſſail theſe fiſhing banks, ſo frequently ſtained, by means of the moſt fatal errors, with European blood?

It will be anſwered, by premiums,* by privileges,

* The French fiſh but a part of the year; moſt of the fiſhermen are day labourers, employed on land, which they leave in the month of February, and return to it in July.

† England gives conſiderable premiums to her fiſhermen.—But the inconveniences and abuſes of the firſt, render them of no effect.

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leges, and by prohibitions or overcharges of duties, which are equivalent to prohibitions, on foreign induſtry.

But it muſt not be forgotten, that articles of ſubſiſtence are here in queſtion, that thoſe forced means make them dearer, that their conſumption is then limited, and their effect reſtrained; that in

Theſe abuſes are detailed in a ſtriking manner in the new work of Mr. Anderſon, intituled: "An Account of the preſent State of the "Hebrides, and Weſtern Coaſt of Scotland."—The principal ones are as follow: The conſiderable and uſeleſs expences which theſe "premiums occaſion to thoſe who wiſh to gain them; it is neceſſary "to go to a certain port; the equipage muſt paſs in review before "the Officers of the Cuſtoms; the ſhip muſt complete her cargo, "or remain three months at ſea to do it:—ſo that if in the firſt "week ſhe procured nine-tenths of it, ſhe would be obliged to keep "the ſea for the other tenth. The ſhip can take no inſtruments "but thoſe proper for the fiſhery, to which the premium is applied; "the cargo cannot be diſcharged but in a certain port; there are "general formalities to be obſerved with reſpect to the ſalt which "ſhe carries out and brings home; the owners are expoſed to vexa- "tions from Cuſtom-houſe Officers, to law ſuits which they are "obliged to carry on in courts of juſtice, far from their reſidence.— "Judge if a poor fiſherman can expoſe himſelf to theſe inconvenien- "cies; this is what has cauſed fiſheries to decline, eſpecially thoſe "of Scotland.—It is what has given ſo much aſcendency to the "Dutch, who have no premiums. It is that which has rendered "premiums uſeleſs; other Governments adopt this method of giving "premiums: the ſame difficulties are attached to them, and yet peo- "ple are aſtoniſhed that things go not on better."

If England were ſucceſsful even in encouraging her fiſheries by premiums, ſhould France ſuffer herſelf to be ſeduced by the example? Circumſtances are different in theſe two nations. The Engliſh have more motives to lead a ſeafaring life, their ſituation makes it even neceſſary, but this neceſſity does not exiſt in France.

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forcing nature in this manner, is doing it at the expence of population, for by this barbarous regimen, men are deſtroyed inſtead of being produced, whilſt permiſſion to bring into ſea ports the fiſh of thoſe who have nothing better to do than to take it would infallibly encreaſe population.

Moreover, to whom are theſe premiums and all other favours, with which it is wiſhed to combat the nature of things, diſtributed? Does the individual of whom it is intended to make a ſailor enjoy any advantage from them? Let not men be deceived in this, they are the prey of the navigator, who goes not out of his cloſet but to walk about, and who directs his ſteps ſometimes towards the ſea ſide. He begins by taking his own ſhare, and be perſuaded, that the wages which he offers to thoſe whom he employs to conduct his perilous enterprize are parſimoniouſly calculated: therefore the end is not attained.

If there be an abſolute want of ſailors, who have paſſed their noviciate about the Banks of Newfoundland, and in the North ſeas, there is a more ſimple and ſure means, leſs expenſive, and what is more important, one which is exempt from deſtructive conſequences, to form them. Chuſe from honeſt families, young, robuſt and intelligent men; inſure to them a perſonal recompence, if after a certain number of voyages on board fiſhing veſſels, they bring certificates of good behaviour, and of experience acquired by practice. Oblige

them to go on board veſſels belonging to nations or cities, to which theſe difficult fiſheries are a neceſſary reſource. It is there they will acquire real knowledge. Theſe added afterwards to ſailors exerciſed in the coaſting and in the fiſheries on their own coaſts, will form for the navy experienced ſailors.

Theſe meaſures will not be counteracted by the avidity of fitters out of veſſels, and the traces of theſe young voyagers never be loſt ſight of, if care be taken not to give them pretenſions, if they and their parents be inſpired with a juſt confidence in the guardian eye, which government ſhould have over them, and in its generoſity, it is impoſſible that this method ſhould not ſucceed, and at the ſame time be leſs expenſive, than all fittings out of ſhips favoured by unnatural means, without which, however, experience has ſhewn them to be impoſſible.*

* Nothing is more caſual for France than the fiſhery of Newfoundland; it has been unfortunate for the laſt two years.—In 1785, a more conſiderable number of French ſhips than ordinary were ſent out, from the idea, that to accelerate the fiſhery, it was neceſſary to arrive there before the ſeaſon.—They met with frightful tempeſts, the veſſels much ſhattered, reached Newfoundland with great difficulty: and a part of the time deſtined to the fiſhery, having been employed in reparations, it was leſs conſiderable, which was the cauſe of great loſſes. The ſailors who made this voyage were expenſively and ſorrowfully formed. Nurſeries ſo little abundant, cannot be very fruitful in men.

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If theſe obſervations be founded, if it be true, as Lord Sheffield ſays it is,* that free America will have in the fiſheries an advantage over all Europe, and furniſh ſalt fiſh at a very low price in every market, France ought to loſe no time in procuring American fiſh, by admitting it with the greateſt liberty and franchiſe. She ought to take advantage of preſent circumſtances, when the ſhorteſt voyages are, without diſpute, the moſt proper for the independent Americans to make.

They carry a great deal of fiſh into Spain and Portugal: it would not be impoſſible that, finding in France more varied returns, they ſhould bring the proviſions even deſtined to Spain and Portugal. They would then be carried by French coaſters,

* Lord Sheffield, to conſole his country and encourage it to monopoliſe fiſheries, pretends, that New Scotland, Canada, and the Iſland of St. John, will ſurpaſs the United States in their fiſheries. It is difficult to believe, that theſe eſtabliſhments proſper more than the United States; that the neighbourhood even of the laſt, will not ſlacken inceſſantly the progreſs of the firſt, as long as Engliſh power is felt in them. Colonel Champion differs in opinion from Lord Sheffield: it appears, that this Nobleman ſhould not be believed but in the advantages which he allows to other nations: for it is with much regret, that he acknowledges them to have any, and he diſcovers a childiſh credulity in all the old women's ſtories, relative to the diſadvantages of other countries. Sad mania of rivality, which blinds the governments of every country, and tranſports them inceſſantly beyond themſelves, whilſt they have ſo much to do, ſo much to conquer within their own proper poſſeſſions; whilſt in uniting themſelves to liberate commerce, to put an end to monopoly, all would be gainers; for the theatre of commerce is as vaſt as the field of happineſs.

which would attend on American veſſels on their arrival, and ſoon diſcharge them of the fiſh which France might not be able to conſume.*

The independent Americans cannot be enticed into Spain and Portugal but by ſweet wines. Theſe wines hurt not the conſumption of thoſe of France, they make an aſſortment. It would be therefore neceſſary, in this new courſe of things which I propoſe, to have in the ports of France, commodious and little expenſive depoſitories of theſe wines ſought for by people of every country, who are in eaſy circumſtances, and who look upon them as neceſſary cordials, rather than as ſenſual enjoyments. The beſt aſſorted ſtorehouſes are thoſe where commerce makes commodities abound from all parts, and its liberty alone forms them.

Lord Sheffield makes the produce of fiſh ſent to European markets in French or Engliſh ſhips, amount to fifteen millions of livres tournois, including the freight; a ſum which his Lordſhip pretends has been wholly remitted to England in return for her manufactures. It is to be ſuppoſed that the part of the independent Americans in this produce was conſiderable. This exchange will take place in future wherever the Americans ſhall find

* In the preſent ſtate of things, the produce of the French fiſheries cannot be ſent into Spain or Italy without being charged by the general farm with duties on entry, and on leaving the kingdom. The means of ſupporting the competition of the Americans in foreign countries.

the greater advantages: France ought immediately to offer theſe advantages to the Americans, if ſhe wiſhes to obtain the preference of the exchanges. Therefore, ſhe ought to exempt American fiſh from all duties. She may without prejudice do the ſame thing to all other fiſh.* The Americans will always fiſh cheaper than any other nation; no nation can ſell cheaper than they can, and conſequently none can injure the importation of the produce of American fiſheries into France.

In thus leaving the introduction free of all foreign fiſh, it will be drawn in great abundance into France, particularly into her ports, and to her coaſts. Theſe offer a nurſery of men highly precious! Its development and increaſe will be favoured, by rendering ſubſiſtence eaſy, even to the moſt miſerable claſs.

An obſtacle will ariſe, perhaps, from the conſideration that land productions are loaded with heavy

* French fiſhermen cannot furniſh France with the cod conſumed there; the Dutch ſend a great deal to France by Dunkirk and the Trois Eveches.

The French have no eſtabliſhment at Newfoundland: the Banks, wherein they are at liberty to fiſh, are not the moſt abundant.

The Americans only can fiſh all the year.—If the French did not renounce this diſtant fiſhery, its produce would not be ſufficient to their conſumption; it is therefore neceſſary, they ſhould open their ports to the Americans. The herring and mackrel fiſheries are the moſt abundant for France: yet their produce is far from equalling the conſumption. The Engliſh and Dutch are nearer the places wherein theſe fiſheries are carried on.

impoſts: It will be perhaps concluded, that in juſtice, and according to the intereſt of the land proprietor, fiſh ought to bear a part of theſe impoſts. This would be erroneous: for in exempting fiſh from duties, it becomes a ſupport to every one, a means of better ſupporting territorial charges. If herring and cod can be brought into the cabin of the labourer, are not theſe ſupports to him? Cannot he ſell ſo many more of his productions to pay impoſts? Fiſcality always cruel in its general projects, interpoſes even jealouſy, to palliate the danger and injuſtice of them.

A conſolation is given for an impoſt on land productions, by an impoſt on thoſe of the ſea,* this is like conſoling a ſick man, by communicating his diſorder to thoſe who are in a ſtate to ſerve him.

But it will be anſwered, if people can ſubſiſt cheaper on the ſea coaſt, than in the interior parts of a country, they will flock there in crowds, and the lands will be deſerted.—This unequal diviſion, has already taken place in every ſtate which has coaſts, and commerce is the cauſe of it. Commerce is more varied and productive in ſea ports,

* There is the ſame confuſion in the duties paid in France on fiſh as in the other branches of the impoſts: there are three or four, duties upon national and foreign fiſheries. There is even a difference in the duties on French fiſheries: ſo that the inhabitants of Havre and Dieppe, pay two thirds leſs than thoſe of Saint Valery. To avoid the chicaneries and confuſion of revenue officers, to whom a free people can never accuſtom themſelves, it will be neceſſary to ſimplify theſe duties.

than in the middle of a kingdom, it offers more reſources to the imagination than culture; and I have already remarked, in the article of tobacco, that when lands are charged, the induſtry of cities and all their illuſions, are ſufficient to entice the inhabitants from the country. But what remedy is there for theſe emigrations? Certainly it is not in devoting the inhabitants of the coaſts to miſery, becauſe cultivators are wretched. There is a more natural means: this conſiſts in making the population of ſea ports, and the induſtry which diſplays itſelf there, ſerve to procure articles of proviſion at a very low price, and in ſuch conſiderable quantities as to be eaſily ſent to ſuccour the inhabitants in the interior of the kingdom. The rivers and canals which lead to the ſea, will render the carriage eaſy, and if they could be charged with the ſpoils of the laſt, without an augmentation of price by any duty, who can doubt but they will diffuſe joy and encouragement throughout the country?

Whale oil belongs to the fiſheries: it is another great article of commerce with the United States. All oil of this denomination, is not produced by whales only; great quantities of it is drawn from ſeals, and perhaps other ſpecies of fiſh.

The uſe of this oil is much reſtrained in France:*

* By ſtatements which deſerve ſome faith, it appears; that in 1784, the importation into France of whale oil, and that of other fiſh taken by the French, was 1,610,669 lb.—Foreign oil 2,748,099 lb. Portugal furniſhed almoſt half of the laſt.

that of the white of the whale, and of which ſuch fine candles are made, is little known there. The uſe of oil will become more general. An individual has undertaken to furniſh a conſiderable quantity of it to light Paris; but before he engaged. he undoubtedly made ſeveral experiments, which proved it to be perfectly fit for the purpoſe, as he is ſeconded by government.

Lord Sheffield is of opinion, that ſound policy makes it neceſſary that the Engliſh ſhould prohibit, or at leaſt diſcourage by duties, American oil. It was with this idea that the government of England impoſed a duty of four hundred and fifty livres tournois per ton on oils, imported by the independent Americans, to favour the oils of Canada and New Scotland.

This rigour ſhould make this production which has been hitherto proſcribed, received in France. The introduction of it is ſo much the more neceſſary, as the French whale fiſhery is ruined. Bayon, formerly celebrated for this fiſhery, has abandoned it; Dunkirk, which continues to fit out veſſels, furniſhes but little of this oil, and at a very high price.

Whether the French go to the North, or towards Braſil, they will labour under a diſadvantage:— Without aſylum in caſe of misfortune, their navigation is always longer and more expenſive than that of other nations which carry on a whale fiſhery. It is therefore more to the advantage of France

to

to receive American oil, and to pay for it with her wines and manufactures.

The French government ſoon perceived the neceſſity of receiving the oils of America. Had not this been done, an emigration of American fiſhermen into Canada and New Scotland, would have been the conſequence. This was near happening ſome time after the peace, in the iſland of Nantucket, of which M. de Crevecœur has given ſo intereſting a deſcription. In deſpair on ſeeing the ports of England ſhut, and not knowing where to ſell their oils, which alone ſupplied all their wants, the inhabitants had reſolved to emigrate to New Scotland, when, on the moment of departure, they received a letter from the Marquis de la Fayette, whom they juſtly looked upon as their patron and father. He perſuaded them to be patient until adminiſtration ſhould ſuppreſs or reduce the duties on oils, which have been in fact, reduced for a limited time; but during this time, the independent Americans are to enjoy, with reſpect to their oils, all the advantages given to the moſt favoured nation;* and this favour joined to

* Such are the duties on whale oil, &c. paid in France, according to the tarifs of 1664, and 1667, whale-bone, cut and prepared by the French thirty ſols per cwt. fins three livres per cwt. a barrel of oil of five hundred pounds weight, three livres.—Whale bone from foreign fiſheries, pays in the firſt inſtance, nineteen livres, in the ſecond, thirty livres, and twelve livres in the third. The Hanſe Towns pay nine livres in the firſt inſtance, and ſeven livres ten ſols in the third.—It is this laſt duty which the American oils are to pay. See the letter from M. de Calonne, to M. Jefferſon.

all their other advantages, cannot fail to give them a great ſuperiority in this branch of commerce, as beneficial to France as to them.

No idea can be formed of the value of this article by the work of Lord Sheffield, who appears to have calculated every thing: his Lordſhip ſays, page 61, of the ſixth edition, "That there have been brought "of it into Great Britain, from North America, "and from the poſſeſſions which ſtill remain to "the Engliſh, four thouſand eight hundred and "ſixty-two tons a year, from 1768 to 1770;" and he eſtimates this quantity at eight millions of livres tournois in America, and at twenty-five millions at the place where it is ſold: afterwards, page 62, he ſays, "That the inhabitants of Nantucket have "gained by the whale fiſhery, from twenty-five to "forty-five millions of livres tournois a year." It is impoſſible there ſhould not be great inaccuracies in theſe calculations.

However this may be, whale oils offer to the commerce of France with the United States a conſiderable article of exchange, and which deſerves to be favoured.*

The

* The encouragements given to the importation of American oils, muſt not be counteracted, in obſtinately perſiſting againſt the nature of things, to ſupport by other encouragements the French fiſheries.

It has been a good deal talked of lately to encourage American fiſhermen belonging to the whale fiſhery, to come and eſtabliſh themſelves upon the coaſts of France, and to form ſailors in this fiſhery. Even the Gazettes have announced that forty-five Quaker families of

The white of the whale muſt be added, and the candles made with this ſubſtance; they are known by the name of ſpermaceti candles, and ſerve inſtead of very fine bougies or wax candles. The American Colonies exported of them, according to Lord Sheffield, to the amount of five hundred thouſand livres tournois, in the years 1768, 1769, and 1770, calculating theſe candles at thirty-two ſols a pound. It is probable, that theſe would be better made in France.

of Nantucket, who were invited by government, were come to Dunkirk with an intention to ſettle there.

The news of the Gazettes is an idle ſtory, and the project a chimera; a reaſon ſhould be given, for there is nothing ſo abſurd, but what inventors of projects make to be believed and ſanctioned.

Firſt, American fiſhermen eſtabliſhed in France, will not approach to its coaſts, the places where the whale and cod fiſheries are carried on; and it is the diſtance, the want of an aſylum, which occaſions uſeleſs expences, damages, and enormous expenditures.

Moreover, thoſe who underſtand the whale fiſhery, know, that to fiſh with ſucceſs, or at leaſt, in the manner the Americans carry on the fiſhery; particular manners and cuſtoms are required. A kind of fraternity among all the officers and ſailors, an intereſt for each, proportioned to the ſucceſs of the fiſhery, ſobriety, attention, and cleanlineſs.—Are the French ſuſceptible of adopting theſe manners immediately.

Thoſe who know the Quakers, ſee the impoſſibility of enticing or at leaſt, of their ſettling in France: they would ſoon leave it, or ceaſe to be Quakers.

SECTION

SECTION III.

Corn, Flower, &c.

FOREIGN corn and flower enter France, on paying a duty too inconſiderable to make any ſenſible encreaſe in their price. The principles laid down in the preceding article, with reſpect to articles of ſubſiſtence, are adopted for the commodities of corn and flower: I will obſerve again, that according to the ſame principles, the productions of the fiſhery ſhould enjoy, for a ſtill ſtronger reaſon, the ſame favour. In fact, encouragements muſt have more influence on the produce of fiſheries, than on that of the fields. The productions of the firſt are daily, eaſy, and require neither great nor long advances, and they even pay inſtantly the fiſherman for his labour; whilſt nature doubles not in one year the harveſts, which are ſlow, uncertain, and require great advances. Therefore, encouragements, and the admiſſion, eſpecially of foreign fiſh, would multiply the produce of fiſheries with greater rapidity than that of any other manual labour.

It would be ſuperfluous to retrace the advantages of a free admiſſion of foreign corn; enough has been written on this ſubject. It has been demonſtrated

ſtrated that the uniformity of price which this admiſſion contributes to maintain, is at once advantageous to the labourer and the conſumer.

But the exemption of foreign corn has been made uſe of as a pretext, to ſtop, or reſtrain, according to circumſtances, the free circulation in France of national grain, from which it has often reſulted, that a ſcarcity was felt in the maritime provinces, before foreign corn arrived; whilſt the interior provinces, and even the neighbouring ones, had an abundance: a ſyſtem at once abſurd and barbarous. For the province wherein grain was abundant, did not furniſh leſs of it to the other; but by the means of ſecret monopoliſers, who, purchaſing privately, paid for corn at a much lower price than would have been eſtabliſhed by a free commerce, and ſold it in the province afflicted with ſcarcity, more dear than it would have been produced by this commcerce.

Theſe errors are too palpable and deſtructive to exiſt for a long time; the full and conſtant liberty of the commerce of grain, muſt prevail every where in the end. But let us not be deceived; it will not exiſt, nor produce all its good effects until it be unalterably fixed, whatever the circumſtances may be.

We are not perhaps arrived at this point in France: the timid ſuppoſitions of minds, little accuſtomed to generaliſe, have more or leſs effect on adminiſtration. The corn merchant, the moſt uſeful

uſeful of all merchants, (whatever the vulgar, who, from a want of information, confounds a dealer in corn with a monopoliſer, may think of him) fears arbitrary exceptions, ſudden prohibitions, and unexpected ſtrokes of authority. This ſtate of uncertainty prevents the ſolid eſtabliſhment of the true ſyſtem of liberty, whence reſult innumerable inconveniencies, which no other ſyſtem would bring on, provided it were fixed, and that it afforded a certain baſis of calculation.

But how could a legiſlation for corn be formed, which ſhould not be one of liberty, and which ſhould nevertheleſs afford a like baſis? This is impoſſible: ſeeking firſt of all, the particular rules for every caſe, when theſe are of a nature not to be foreſeen, is ſeeking for a chimera.

Not to fall into contradiction it is neceſſary to chuſe between arbitrary power and liberty.—But that which is arbitrary, preſents nothing but a perſpective, which is naturally diſcouraging. No property is ſafe under this ſyſtem: when it exiſts, the merchant and the cultivator are obliged to hazard their property in a lottery, of which the chicaneries cannot be calculated; for it is neceſſary to foreſee the falſe informations, errors and manœuvres, of an intereſt different from their own, and even from that of the public; the attempts of power, &c. and if all theſe conſiderations, ought to enter into the elements of their calculations; how can they found hopes on ſuch a variable baſis?

Liberty

Liberty conſiſting on the contrary, in the choice which every one may make of that which is moſt agreeable to him, according to the circumſtances of the moment. This is a general rule; it is applicable to every caſe, and the hope of gain is always accompanied by the deciſive certainty that an individual will be maſter of all his induſtry, and of combining his ſpeculations according to circumſtances, which human power cannot govern.

From this demonſtrated truth, that in every ſtate of circumſtances, the firſt thing needful to the commerce of grain, is a fixed rule, reſults the neceſſity of embracing the ſyſtem of liberty, and of protecting it in its fulleſt extent, without oppoſing any reſtrictive condition.*

Governments ſhould be determined by the neceſſity alone of this fixed rule, if the ſyſtem of liberty was not even demonſtrated to be the beſt in every reſpect. But this ſyſtem is moreover the moſt certain preſervative againſt the alternatives of ruinous abundance, and ſcarcity ſtill more ruinous,

* An adminiſtrator has propoſed to introduce the liberty of the commerce of grains, reſerving to provinces the power of objecting in certain caſes, againſt foreign exportation. Introducing ſuch a clauſe into the ſyſtem of liberty, is deſtroying with one hand what is done by the other: no conditions or no liberty.

There may be oppoſed to this, the example of the Engliſh, who ſometimes prohibit importation or exportation.—But it muſt be obſerved, that the Engliſh previouſly fix the price of corn, which determines prohibitions. This is therefore a fixed law, and which, conſequently, deranges not ſpeculators like an arbitrary law.

which

which are both calamities, wherever impoſts are conſiderable.

If Lord Sheffield be believed, America exported in 1768, 1769, and 1770, about fifteen hundred thouſand quintals of wheat, which makes five hundred thouſand a year: of which Great Britain conſumed but thirty-two thouſand; the reſt muſt have been chiefly exported to Spain, Portugal and the ports of the Mediterranean.

Lord Sheffield obſerves alſo, that Europe not being conſtantly under the neceſſity of recurring to American corn, the United States cannot put corn and flower into the claſs of productions, which found an eſſential and durable commerce.*

I have not information enough of the detail of the corn trade of the United States, on which account, I am obliged to confine myſelf to general

* We have no ſimple expreſſion in France for *ſtaple commodities*; words by which the Engliſh term thoſe ſorts of productions of ſoil or induſtry, ſo naturalized as to form an eſſential part of national riches, and of which the commerce is favoured by great eſtabliſhments, ſuch as public buildings, depoſitories, and places or markets, deſtined to theſe productions. Theſe are called the *ſtaple*, whence the expreſſion *ſtaple commodities* was naturally formed.

We have not like the Engliſh, the happy liberty of making words: their language becomes more rich, their elocution rapid, and we loſe ourſelves in long circumlocutions, to deſcribe a thing of which we want the name; an inconvenience more pernicious to inſtruction than is believed. This remark is not at preſent ill timed: it is to thoſe who conduct affairs, who live among them, whoſe vocation it is to treat there on, to create words which explain them clearly and properly.

remarks

remarks on this commerce: but whatever may be the want of corn in Europe, it is ſufficient that this article be expoſed on one part to many variations, and that it may be eaſily and cheaply preſerved on the other, to authoriſe the independent Americans to claſs it among their means of exchange. A ſecond truth reſults already, which is, that this want of grain being extended to all Europe, France ought to be anxious to become the magazine of it, ſince England was ſo formerly. Therefore, it would be advantageous, to conſtruct in the free ports opened to the United States, commodious depoſitories to receive and preſerve American corn. By this means, corn would be always ready to be tranſported to the place where the beſt price was to be had for it. Theſe free ports being depoſitories where articles neceſſary to the United States would be collected; the commerce of corn would thereby acquire a continuation advantageous to the two nations:—advantageous to America, becauſe the certainty of a place of depoſit, ſafe and little expenſive, would cauſe grain to be ſent more frequently;—advantageous to France, becauſe, beſides the continual poſſeſſion of an important commodity, and which would guarantee it from every manœuvre of interior monopoly, theſe depoſitories would furniſh the means of a coaſting trade, almoſt continual from the north of France, to the fartheſt part of the Mediterranean.

It is to the advantage of free ports to favour coaſting, the beſt ſchool for mariners, and the depoſitories which they facilitate, ſaving much time to the great traders, make them prefer theſe points to all others.

Cultivation and clearing of lands muſt neceſſarily produce a very great ſuperfluity of corn in the United States. This ſuperfluity will even encreaſe a long time before the proportion of the population to the produce of lands is changed; and ſince it is proper that the independent Americans ſhould be cultivators, has not France a ſure means of drawing their principal commerce to herſelf; in offering them vaſt magazines for their grain and flower,* where the convenience of depoſit is united to the certainty of preſervation.

Moreover, as France grows not all the corn ſhe conſumes†, as ſhe is obliged to get it from the north, from Scicily, and the coaſts of Africa, that of the United States ought to be more proper for her, for

* The commerce of flower is leſs ſafe than that of grain; flower heats, and moreover, grain is in general preferred, to preſerve, in the county where it is conſumed, the induſtry which converts it into flower. The Americans are perhaps ignorant, that in France the loſs by ſpoiled flower is ſo much the greater, as in that caſe it pays a greater duty: in a good State it pays but one ſol per quintal on entry, and afterwards the circulation of it is free; ſpoiled, and deſtined in that caſe, to make ſtarch, it pays thirty ſols per quintal

† This is a fact, though contrary to the common opinion. Another fact, which proves the neceſſity of admitting corn at a low rate,

for two reaſons: Firſt, it muſt be cheaper, being the produce of a cultivating people. Secondly, the people have more various and general wants of freſh proviſions than the ſouthern countries of Europe. The American may receive wines, fine oils, and fruits of France in exchange for his corn. The Neopolitan, the Sicilian, and the African cannot be paid in the ſame manner.

Finally, there is another conſideration favourable to the importation of American corn: it may eaſily arrive at Honfleur *; there it may be ſtored up, and undergo all the proceſſes neceſſary to its preſervation; proceſſes which are become very ſimple and little expenſive †. Theſe eſtabliſh-

P ments

rate, ſuch as the corn of America is, that three-fourths of the inhabitants of the province of Beauce, which produces ſuch fine corn, eat black bread and no other, and of which they have not even enough. What muſt this ſcarcity be in other provinces where no corn is grown?

* I quote Honfleur, becauſe this port, from various circumſtances, uſeleſs to mention here, is deſtined by nature to become the depoſitory of a great commerce, and that eſpecially of the United States with France. The project of making it a free port, is at preſent under conſideration; and it is to the greateſt intereſt of France that this project ſhould be carried into execution.

† Theſe conſiſt in nothing but placing magazines in the open air, opened to dry winds, and conſtructed in ſuch a manner as to be entirely removed. This operation, performed once a fortnight, in proper weather, needs only to be repeated a certain number of times; after which the corn may be left in a heap, without fear of its heating. Experiments of this kind have been carefully made. The method of preſerving corn uſed at Geneva may be quoted: The

govern-

ments would keep up a conſiderable quantity of foreign corn, within the reach of the capital, a greater advantage than may be imagined. Men generally follow the articles of ſubſiſtence, and cities, ſo immenſely peopled, drawing theſe articles from a great circuit, the country is ſoon abandoned by every body but labourers; for the conſumer, whoſe fate fixes him there, ſoon finds the commodity which the capital diſputes with him too dear, and haſtens either to go there, imagining that the more numerous means of ſubſiſtence to be found there renders the dearneſs leſs ſenſible, or to withdraw himſelf from this circuit to avoid the effect of competition.

In favouring the magazines of foreign corn, and of that of America eſpecially, the conſumption of national corn would be, in ſome meaſure, forced in the country parts, which would perhaps prevent the emigration of thoſe inhabitants, whom the engulphing of commodities in cities draws there continually, and makes the lands deſerted.

There are ſtill other motives which may engage the French to receive American corn. They have

government has eſtabliſhed one of its greateſt revenues in the ſale of corn to the people, and its intereſt has, conſequently, led it to improve the art of preſerving this commodity. Beſides, in depoſitories deſtined wholly to the corn dealers, the ſame corn never remains long enough to render its preſervation difficult. There is ſome reaſon to believe that the ſalt air of the ſea is favourable for it.

need

need of it for the vaſt magazines which the land and ſea forces, and frequently ſcarcity, oblige them to keep ſtored.

What ſhould hinder France from paying herſelf with this commodity, for the ſuccours ſhe has given the Americans, and of which their ſituation retards the re-imburſement?

But the hands of thoſe contractors, with whom the capital ſwarms, muſt not ſoil this patriotic and generous operation, which they would render uſeleſs to the two nations.

Finally, What ſhould hinder Government from forming magazines of American corn in the French ſugar iſlands, which tempeſts, conflagrations, and other unforeſeen accidents expoſe ſo frequently to famine, becauſe contracted victualling is carried on by monopoliſers who ſend but little to ſell dear?

This is not the place to give my ſentiments on this ſubject; I do not yet treat of the produce and affinities of the United States and the French ſugar iſlands, I ſhall perhaps, at a future day, examine this delicate and important matter; but, in the mean time, the following fact has induced me to believe that magazines of American corn, in theſe colonies, would not only be uſeful, but even neceſſary. This fact is related in a gazette authorized by Government, and to which full credit ought for once to be given; as it is well known with what circumſpection the publication of public

calamities, ariſing from protected monopoly, is permitted.

I will contentmyſelf with copying the article from the gazette. " Extract from the General Journal " of France, Saturday, February 24th, 1787, " *from Saint Domingo.* A letter from the Cul-de- " Sac, of the 11th of December laſt, mentions a " general epidemical diſtemper among the whites " of the plain of Port au Prince; the interments are " made by dozens. It would be very unhappy were " this occaſioned by the bad quality of flower brought " from Europe. However, it is certain that, ſince the " peace, the inhabitants have conſtantly complain- " ed of the dearneſs, ſcarcity, and bad quality of " the European flower. Letters, of the 8th of " October, mention, that bread was at fifteen ſols " a pound, and that the inhabitants were frequently " on the eve of wanting it entirely; ſo much ſo, " that an individual of this place gave orders to a " merchant at Bourdeaux to ſend flower upon his " account; and his ſurpriſe is truely affecting to " find that this flower is as bad as the reſt." [*Extrait des affiches de Bretagne.*

SECTION

SECTION IV.

MASTS, YARDS, AND OTHER TIMBER FOR THE NAVY.

FRANCE, like other European ſtates which have a royal navy and fleets of merchant ſhips to keep in repair, imports timber from Livonia and Ruſſia. This general magazine begins to be exhauſted,—the quality of its maſts is not ſo good as formerly. This commerce is, moreover, attended with the diſadvantage to France of requiring conſiderable remittances of money, without reckoning the inconveniencies of a dangerous navigation, frequently interrupted by ice; alſo the competition of ſeveral nations, which their proximity and many other circumſtances naturalize, ſo to ſpeak, in the ports and ſeas of the North; advantages which the French cannot have.

Theſe conſiderations ought to determine France to turn her attention to the United States, to procure from them the timber neceſſary for their navy, and maſt timber eſpecially. If ſhe can meet with a ſupply of this kind from America, it is beyond a doubt but ſhe will find more real advantages therein than the north of Europe can afford, whether it be in the manner of paying for

the timber, or in the navigation, which is much leſs dangerous and uncertain than that of the Baltic.

Moreover, why ſhould not ſhip-timber of American growth be proper for the uſe of the French navy? There is but one objection to this, and it ariſes from prejudice.

It is pretended in France, that the quality of American timber is very much inferior to that of the Baltic. Some people go ſo far as to maintain, that it is improper for the conſtruction of veſſels. I have reaſon to believe, that this judgment is not only haſty, but dictated either by ignorance, or the partiality of perſons intereſted in ſeeing no other timber arrive in the French dock-yards than that of the north of Europe.

It is not in the laws of nature, that immenſe countries, whoſe aſpects are as varied as thoſe of Europe can be, and in whoſe ſoil there are the ſame diverſities, ſhould produce no timber but of a quality inferior to that of the timber of Europe. The quality of timber varies on our continent according to the climate, the nature of the ſoil, and other circumſtances. If there be any timber of which the quality muſt be naturally of an inferior kind, and become gradually more and more ſo, it is that of Europe; becauſe the foreſts, which produced the bent timber, are exhauſted, or tend daily to be ſo. Moreover, there are rules for cutting of timber, and preparing it before it is put to uſe; if

theſe are neglected, the quality is more or leſs changed. Now is it not poſſible that, from a want of experience, or from other momentary circumſtances*, the Americans may not have been able to put theſe rules into practice, and that the quality of the timber may have ſuffered by it?

Better directed enquiries, and a more attentive examination, will ſoon deſtroy this prejudice againſt the quality of American timber; a prejudice ſo much the more diſagreeable, as it would deprive the commerce between France and the United States of an article important to the two nations.

If France will inform herſelf ſeriouſly of this matter, let her conſult even the enemies of America; let her conſult Lord Sheffield, ſo moderate in his eulogiums, when it is neceſſary to give them to the independent Americans. His Lordſhip ſays expreſsly †, "that the negociators of the treaty of

* For inſtance, the cutting of timber in a proper ſeaſon, and not to let ſlip the favourable moment, a great quantity muſt be cut at once, by the union of a number of hands. The Americans have them not in ſufficient numbers. Timber muſt alſo be left expoſed to the air, or in the water a long time, before it can be properly made uſe of; and the Americans, preſſed by neceſſity, cannot always make this ſacrifice of time; therefore, the defects of American timber muſt not be attributed to its nature, but to unfavourable circumſtances. This reaſoning overturns all the aſſertions which the partiality of perſonal intereſt has hitherto advanced againſt the timber of America.

† Sixth edition, page 89.

" peace, who have ceded the territory of Penob-
" ſcot, to the eaſt of Caſco bay, belonging to
" Great Britain, deſerve the ſevereſt cenſure;
" as this country produces, without contradic-
" tion, the beſt timber. The coaſt," adds his Lordſhip, " is covered with timber proper for
" navigation and other uſes, and in quantities ſuf-
" ficient to the wants of Great Britain for cen-
" turies to come. The white pine, known in
" England by the name of the Weymouth Pine,
" or the Pine of New England, abounds in this
" territory; it is inconteſtably the beſt for maſts,
" and grows there to a prodigious heighth."

This is confirmed to us by enlightened men, who have travelled and reſided a long time in the United States. Theſe men aſſure us, that the States produce all kinds of timber of which we are in need, and that the white pine of the Connecticut, Penobſcot, and Kennebeck rivers is, at leaſt, equal in quality to that of the north of Europe. The ſhip-builders of Philadelphia eſteem it ſo much, that they begin to make uſe of it for ſide planks above the ſurface of the water.

Green oak, of which there are ſo fine foreſts in Georgia, unites the moſt precious qualities;—it may be procured from St. Mary's, of a more conſiderable ſcantling than that which comes from the Levant and the iſland of Corſica; it is compact, the worms never attack it, and its duration is unequalled. The cubical foot weighs ninety-five pounds

pound, which is twenty pound more than that of the white oak commonly made uſe of. Such is its ſolidity, that the common thickneſs of planks, &c. may be diminiſhed nearly one half in uſing it *.

Lord Sheffield, after having ſaid that no timber, proper for maſts, is found to the ſouth of forty-one degrees, declares, however, that the yellow pine of the Southen States furniſhes great maſts for merchants ſhips †. The white and yellow pines are of a quality ſuperior to others;—the grain is fine, that of the yellow pine is cloſe. All theſe pines are employed in the conſtruction of houſes and veſſels, and are put to all uſes to which pine is applicable, whether it be in ſquare pieces or in boards.

Finally, when we ſee great Britain ſet a value on American timber; when it is recollected, that, before the war, ſhe had got ſurveyed a canton of ſix hundred thouſand acres, in the province of

* The green oak of Carolina is the hardeſt timber known;—the veſſels built with it are of a very long duration. See what Colonel Champion ſays in different parts of his work of American timber, and wherein he refutes the opinion of Lord Sheffield on American maſts.

† Page 93d, 6th Edition, is the following note :—" The maſts " of America are inferior to thoſe of Riga; but theſe are very " expenſive, on account of the diſtance they are at, and the conſi- " derable duties which they pay at Riga. In time of war, the " great maſts delivered in England, coſt from 2, 3, to 400l. ſterling. " The greateſt maſts, made uſe of in the navy, are thirty-ſix inches in " diameter, and come from America. Great maſts, made of ſeveral " pieces, are at preſent preferred."

Sagga-

Saggadahock; that ſhe had got an agent there to get theſe pines cut down upon the ſnow, and embarked in long veſſels conſtructed for the purpoſe.* It is difficult to conceive, that France ſhould be indifferent about the timber, of every kind, which ſhe may procure from the United States, in exchange for her productions.

SECTION V.

Skins and Furs.

Lord Sheffield whom we quote with confidence, when he deſcribes the advantages of the United States, does not give them the advantage of being entirely maſters of the fur trade; but he looks upon them as dangerous rivals to Canada, and it is not without reaſon that his lordſhip is of this opinion.

* See the letters of an American cultivator, Vol. II. Page 26. This eſtimable writer has taken the pains to bring to France a great quantity of ſcantlings of the different ſorts of timber, found in the United States, and which, by their different uſes, are proper for commerce;—the variety of this timber is ſurpriſing. Lord Sheffield, in calculating the exportation of wood from America to England, in the years 1768, 1769, and 1770, makes the annual quantity almoſt two hundred tons per annum. In 1763, the Engliſh contractor paid in New England ſeventy-five pounds ſterling for a maſt of thirty-three, and diminiſhing the price to eleven pounds for a maſt of twenty-four inches. In 1769, theſe prices were reduced twenty per cent.

The

The proximity of the great eſtabliſhments which the independent Americans form at preſent at *Pitſburgh*, and in many other places of their poſſeſſions beyond the mountains, muſt inſenſibly give them great advantages in this commerce, and make them partake with Canada the profits, almoſt excluſive, which this province has enjoyed ſince 1763.

In fact, the regions ſituated between the waters of the lake *Ontario*, and thoſe of the Miſſiſſippi, interſected by the numerous rivers which fall into the South and North Weſt of *Lake Erie*, of the *Michigan*, and of the *Superior*, as far as the *Ouiſconſing*,* and even to the *lac des bois*; the great undertakings in which the Virginians are at preſent employed, to improve the navigation of the *Potowmack*, to the foot of the Alle-Gheny; the probability of another communication with the ultramontane waters, by means of the weſtern branches of the *Suſquehannah*;† without omitting the facility with which the inhabitants of the ſtate of New York, went to *Niagara* before the war, in going up the Hudſon's river from their capital to Albany, beyond that of the Mohawks, croſſing the little lake of Oneida, and by means of an eaſy carriage, going down the river of *Oſwego*, in the mouth of which

* A great river which falls into the Miſſiſſippi, at ſeven hundred leagues from the ſea.

† The Juniata, the Jiogo, and the Cajuga.

which the Ontario forms an excellent harbour; all theſe reaſons and many others which relate not only to geography, but to climate, proximity, &c. muſt in a few years put the Americans in poſſeſſion of a great part of the fur trade.

Theſe advantages will be ſtill more certain, when the Engliſh ſhall have evacuated the forts of Niagara,* the great eſtabliſhment of the ſtreight,† and that of the Michilimakinack.‡ Although by the treaty of peace, they are to enjoy in common with the Americans, the carriage of the navigation of the lakes, yet they will not be more enabled by this means to ſtand in competition with the laſt; for it muſt be obſerved, that the north and north eaſt parts of the continent comprized in the Engliſh limits, to the territory of Hudſon's bay, is infinitely more mountainous, cold and barren, and is interſected by rivers full of rapid falls; and that conſequently, this commerce will not be ſo eaſily carried on in future, and will be leſs conſiderable.

There

* A very important one which commands the ſpace of the thirteen leagues, which ſeparates the lakes Erie and Ontario.

† A city founded by the French, on the ſtreight of St. Claire, which carries the waters of the lakes Michigan and Huron into the Erie.

‡ A fort and eſtabliſhment at the point, in the iſland of this name, which commands the paſſage of the falls of St. Mary, through which the waters of the upper lake fall into thoſe of the Huron.

There will remain to them excluſively, the communication of Mont-Real, with the *high countries* by the great Outawas river, which falls into the river St. Laurence, at the lake of the two mountains, three leagues from that city; but its rapidity and continual falls, will always render theſe means, if not impracticable, at leaſt expenſive and precarious.§

The furs exported from the north of America to Great Britain, amounted annually, during the years 1768, 1769, and 1770, to near a million livres tournois, eſtimated at the price paid for them at the port whence they were exported. The amount of deer ſkins was eight hundred thouſand livres, the leather which the Americans received in exchange at Jamaica, and in the Spaniſh eſtabliſhments not included.

The annual ſales in London of furs from Canada, produceed in 1782, four millions ſeven hundred thouſand livres tournois, ſomething more in 1783, and in 1784, they amounted to upwards of five millions. All theſe furs are paid for with Engliſh manufactures, and the fourth part is prepared in England, by which their value is doubled. Now this rich commerce, carried on by way of Quebec, will certainly fall, as ſoon as the forts and the countries which they command ſhall be reſtored to the

§ M. de Crevecoeur, who has travelled over theſe immenſe countries, is the author of theſe details.

the Americans. Perhaps it is more from this conſideration, than the commiſeration inſpired by the fate of the American loyaliſts, that the reſtitution is withheld, to the moment of which the Engliſh look forward with pain.

Therefore, to ward of the blow, which this reſtitution muſt give to the ſkin and fur trade in England, Lord Sheffield, after having laid open the ſtate of things, adviſes his country to require no duty on furs deſtined to foreign conſumption, in order to encourage the Americans to ſend theirs to England by way of Quebec. He ſtrives to perſuade it to turn its attention to Hudſon's bay, and to treat with the company which poſſeſſes the excluſive commerce of it, in the manner the great African company has been treated with, to ſet this commerce at liberty.

Theſe judicious counſels indicate to France, what ſhe ought to do on her part, to bring into her ports the furs and ſkins of free America.

Could it be ſuppoſed, that the greedy ſpirit of monopoly has already attempted to ſeize upon this commerce? The bankers of Paris have already propoſed a company *by ſhares*, of which a part is to belong to the Americans, and the other to the French. The neceſſity of this company is inſiſted on, becauſe, ſay theſe bankers, it is impoſſible for ſimple individuals to make conſiderable advances, for the preliminary purchaſes which this commerce requires.

The

The eternal falſehood of monopoliſers! A falſehood by which they have ſwallowed up and deſtroyed, even the branches of the moſt advantageous commerce which France offered! A falſehood which it is important to unmaſk; for if government were ſeduced by it, if it were believed and adopted, it would be an impediment to every connexion with the United States, and diſcourage French activity and induſtry: perhaps it would go ſo far as to ſtifle even this commerce which is ſtill in its infancy.

In fact, the American productions which France can receive from the independent Americans, in exchange for French productions, are for the moſt part, of but little value, relative to their bulk. Nevertheleſs, French traders with little aſſortments compoſed of the different manufactures of the kingdom, will go to America by the packet boats which have been lately eſtabliſhed. It is to be even wiſhed, as I have already remarked, that the commerce with the United States ſhould be begun in this manner, that a great number of individuals ſhould be encouraged to go to America; to gain information, carrying with them articles proper for the conſumption of the country, and which are particularly known to the inhabitants.

It is therefore important, that they ſhould find the greateſt poſſible variety of articles to take in return. The moſt commodious for them, are thoſe of the greateſt value in the leaſt bulk. Therefore monopoly

monopoly muſt not be permitted to deprive them of furs; of all American merchandize this is the moſt precious, for this uſeful manner of opening a commerce between France and the United States.

The projectors of this monopoly add, that the Engliſh company will eſtabliſh depoſitories at New York and Baltimore, if they be not foreſtalled.

But of what company do they ſpeak? Is it that of Hudſon's bay? This company has no privileges but thoſe relative to that bay, and by means of which commerce languiſhes inſtead of being animated. Lord Sheffield propoſes, as I have already obſerved, that government ſhould repurchaſe the company's privilege, and eſtabliſh a competition. Moreover, can it be ſuppoſed that Engliſh merchants are much afraid of the competition of this company, or that of foreign ones, whatever they may be.

It is inſiſted, that the return of advances will be ſlow. But this charitable monopoly, which ſhews ſuch a patriotic concern for the intereſt of merchants, does not know that this ſlowneſs has never impeded the encreaſing activity of any commerce when it was able to bear it; and that when it could not, the companies themſelves, incapable of ſupporting a burden continually encreaſing, are ruined in the end, after having for a long time ſhackled the induſtry of individuals. This fact is proved by the hiſtory of every company. Wherever theſe have ſucceeded, liberty would have carried this

this ſucceſs ſtill farther, and would have frequently ſupported thoſe kinds of commerce which have been deſtroyed, becauſe they were directed by the pernicious influence of monopoly. Moreover, there is no queſtion at preſent of a new or diſtant commerce for France. The flouriſhing ſtate in which this commerce was before the loſs of Canada, cannot be forgotten, for the degrading hand of monopoly had not then diſordered it by its infectious touch.

Send out proper merchandize, let your exportations be directed by that enlightened prudence* which

* Exportations have been made from France, which characteriſe in a ſtriking manner, the need the French have of inſtruction in more caſes than one. Some French merchants, looking upon the independent Americans as colonies half ſavage, and counting on their admiration of our modes, ſent them hats elegantly laced, frocks bound or decorated with red fringe, ſpotted ſilk waiſtcoats, and many other things equally frivolous. They knew not that the Americans have Engliſh and German manners; that they are grave and induſtrious; that Philadelphia and Boſton are, ſo to ſpeak, ſuburbs of London. Theſe commercial blunders ariſe from the ſuperficial manner in which the French travel and obſerve. They have not that diffidence of themſelves, that intereſting modeſty, which facilitates the communication and acquiſition of uſeful and ſure knowledge. The high opinion which they have of their national ſtrength, inſpires them with an inſupportable and ill founded ſelf-ſufficiency; for is there any proportion between the number of men which may be armed, and the light of the underſtanding? My readers will pardon me this ſevere obſervation. It is of importance to French travellers. It will prevent ruinous enterprizes, becauſe they are founded upon ignorance and preſumption.

which is the fruit of experience; bring back other merchandize proper for your own country, or for foreign conſumption, and advances will not be ſo long. Moreover, the weight of theſe long advances will be conſiderably leſſened, by being divided among thoſe who ſhall take a part in free commerce.

Moreover, is it to be preſumed, that the independent Americans would ſuffer the commerce of furs to be ſubjected among them to monopoly? Have they diſplayed all the knowledge by which they are diſtinguiſhed, for no other purpoſe than that of adopting the narrow views of our ſtock-jobbers, our wretched ſyſtems of privileged companies, ſyſtems as prejudicial to public ſpirit as to liberty, morality and national proſperity? Are they ignorant, that if a want of means embarraſſed the particular efforts of French merchants, other merchants can replace them? and how great in this reſpect is the power of the Engliſh and Dutch! How great might that of the Spaniards become, if they were willing to adopt good principles, thoſe which reſult from the poſſeſſion of mines!*

The independent Americans will not undoubtedly, ſuffer themſelves to be ſhackled by a barren monopoly, to conform to the views of the bankers of Paris. The Americans cannot well have any faith

* See the account of the preſent ſtate of the bank of St. Charles, page 69, &c.

faith in monopoliſers: many recent inſtances, prove that under a flattering veil, moſt of their projects cover ſpeculations and ſtock-jobbing, and the propoſed company for the ſkin and fur trade, may perhaps be nothing but one of theſe ſpeculations. As ſtock-jobbing gives to ſhares a value which they have not intrinſically, what ſignifies it whether the plan of the company be well or ill calculated, provided it be adopted by government, and preſented under a pompous exterior, that it ſeduces an ignorant public, and that the ſhares riſe to a conſiderable price?

It is, however, neceſſary to do juſtice to the authors of this project. They wiſh to inſure to themſelves great profits, independent of the reſources of gaming, and in the following manner.

The company would eſtabliſh packet-boats between France and America, and ſend one off regularly every month. It may be eaſily ſuppoſed, that theſe packet-boats would carry the merchandize of the company, in preference to that of individuals, and that the company's agents would not be the worſt placed therein.

Government would pay to the company, for the expences of theſe packet-boats, what it pays for thoſe which are ſuppoſed to ſail every two months, that is, ſix hundred thouſand livres.—But to indemnify the induſtrious company for its advances, and the conſiderable loſſes it foreſees, it requires government to cede to it the intereſt of the debt

which the United States owe to France; an intereſt add the authors of the project, badly paid and which is but a trifle to the nation.*

Ought governments, to which men have dared to preſent ſuch projects, to be moſt pitied, or thoſe who have preſented them? Let us hope, however, that the light thrown on theſe affairs will diſſipate the illuſions of ſtockjobbers, if government ſhould ſtill have faith even in them.

Let us return to the fur and ſkin trade. What I have ſaid, ſufficiently ſhews the importance of this article to French commerce, and how much it muſt encreaſe in future. Therefore all the encouragement which government can give, ought to be expected. It is to be hoped, that it will ſuppreſs the duties, which, by their conſiderableneſs would favour ſmuggling, or be prejudicial to the ſale of furs and ſkins to foreign merchants. They may acquire in France, from the workmanſhip by which they are prepared, a greater value; they muſt not, therefore, be rendered inacceſſible by duties, to nations leſs favourably ſituated, than France is, to receive them from America.

Finally, this commerce of furs and ſkins, ought to be ſo much the more favoured in France, as of all the articles furniſhed by the Americans to the Indians, there is not one which may not be found in

* It is by generouſly laviſhing theſe trifles, that a ſtate ſees at once its debt encreaſe, and the means of paying it decreaſe, notwithſtanding what many profound politicians ſay of it.

in this kingdom; this is, conſequently, another reaſon which ſhould animate national activity and induſtry.

SECTION VI.

Rice, Indigo, Flax-seed.

IT is not poſſible to ſpeak of American rice without thinking of the pernicious inconveniences which its cultivation produces. The wretched ſlaves who cultivate it, obliged to be half the year in water, are expoſed to ſcrophulous diſorders and a premature death. It is ſaid, that this conſideration prevents the ſtates, wherein rice is produced, from aboliſhing ſlavery. Free men would not devote themſelves willingly to this deſtructive labour.*

Were this even true, and that in the ſyſtem of liberty, means could not be found to reconcile this culture to the health of the labourers, a ſufficient

* Rice is cultivated in Piedmont and in Italy, by people who have neither houſe nor home, and known by the name of Banditti, the fruit of the bad political conſtitutions of that part of Europe. When theſe Banditti have finiſhed their work, the Sbirres conduct them to the frontiers, for fear of the diſorders to which their inaction and miſery might incline them.

motive could not be drawn from it, to condemn to death or to cruel diſeaſes, a part of our fellow creatures, born free, equal with us,* and with an equal right to live. Were the culture of this commodity even abſolutely neceſſary, this neceſſity would give us no right over the lives of negroes, or it would be the effect of a ſtate of war; for ſervitude was never a right.

However it may be, it is much to be wiſhed, that the production of rice may not be thus ſtained, and that in conſequence, there may be found either the means of preventing the diſeaſes which it

* They are of a different colour from that of the Europeans; but does the quality of man depend on colour? Are not the negroes organized as we are? Have not they like us, every thing which belongs to the production of the ſpecies, to the formation of ideas, and to their development? If their black colour ought to have any moral effect, to have any influence over their fate, or to determine our conduct towards them, it ſhould be that of inducing us to leave them where they are, and not to force them away from their country; not to puniſh them by the moſt barbarous treatment on account of their colour; not to drag them into a foreign land, to condemn them there to the vile and painful life of animals. Do they come and offer themſelves voluntarily as ſlaves? Do they aſk to leave thoſe torrid zones, wherein nature ſeems to have circumſcribed them by their colour, as ſhe has done by us in more temperate ones by our white complections? Their wants being few, keep them in ignorance; we add every thing capable of changing it into imbeciſity, and we argue upon this degradation, of which we are the culpable authors, to tranquilize ourſelves on the juſt reproaches which nature makes us! Can we boaſt therefore, of our knowledge, as long as it remains an accomplice in theſe horrors? See on this ſubject, *l'examen critique des Voyages*, de M. de Chaſtelux.

it cauſe, or that it may be replaced by another culture leſs pernicious.

There is a ſpecies of dry rice no way dangerous to cultivate. Moreover the example of the Chineſe and the Indians, among whom the culture of rice makes not ſuch ravages, ought to make us hope, that in imitating them, life and health would be reſtored to men of which we have never had a right to deprive them.

After having conſidered this production as a man ſhould conſider it, I muſt now conſider it as a merchant ought to do.

The French government has not yet taken a determined reſolution relative to the introduction of American rice. Undoubtedly, when the nature of this commodity ſhall have been reflected upon, adminiſtration will be anxious not only to admit it, but to favour its importation, as much as other nations can poſſibly do. It is a wholeſome and ſimple article of ſubſiſtance, proper to ſupply the place of principal commodities. Theſe motives ſhould be powerful enough, to counterbalance the inſinuations dictated by private intereſt againſt the admiſſion of rice. It cannot be too often repeated, that the multiplication of articles of ſubſiſtance ought to be encouraged; it would render life leſs painful to the people, encreaſe population, and, conſequently natural riches.

Let us obſerve farther, that rice in, arriving in France by ſea, muſt encreaſe the articles of ſubſiſt-

ance in the ports wherein it is diſcharged: it would then contribute, with other cauſes, to draw people together in theſe ports from the interior parts of the country. Theſe emigrations might be prevented in giving a free circulation to this commodity of firſt neceſſity, and to others of the ſame nature.

Finally, if France wiſhes to have a great and ſolid commerce, with the United States, ſhe ſhould be cautious of excluſions, which would be ſo many obſtacles to the deſired end. She ought to admit all the productions of the United States. Without this favour, her commerce with them will be always reſtrained, ever ſubject to frequent interruptions; and uncertainty and impediments, will drive it to countries wherein its reception and the facilities offered to it, ſhall be more general. It is in this reſpect, with nations as with merchants; he who offers the greateſt advantages, always obtains the preference.

" Heretofore," ſays Lord Sheffield, " American " rice, although conſumed by Spain, Portugal and " the north of Europe, was firſt landed in Eng- " land, and paid there a duty of ſeven ſols one-ſixth " ſterling per hundred weight. This duty has " been very properly ſuppreſſed by an order of " council, and America continues to ſend us her " rice. The Americans not being able to judge " to what port of Holland or Germany, it will be " moſt convenient to ſend it, and our correſpond- " ence with the different parts of Europe, putting

" it conſtantly in our power to be better informed " of the ſtate of markets they will confide to us " their rice, becauſe we can judge better to what " port it may be moſt advantageouſly exported."

This is, in a few words, the theory which ſhould direct France in her commerce with the United States. Then what ſignifies it whether ſhe conſumes ſuch or ſuch an American production? To receive them all, to pay for them all with her own productions, if ſhe can—if not, with foreign ones; and to ſend them into every place of conſumption, is no little advantage. It is, indeed, the buſineſs of a factor; but this buſineſs is attended with happy and extenſive conſequences * to the people who

* For free tranſits, or paſſes, ſhould be eſtabliſhed by land, as well for prohibited articles, as for thoſe whoſe interior conſumption is charged with duties. This uſeful meaſure requires ſome courage, to give it the extent it ſhould have:—for people will not fail to repeat the conſtant objection, that tranſits, or paſſes, however well regulated, favour ſmuggling; and that this is prejudicial to ſome national eſtabliſhment, or diminiſhes the receipt of duties. But if the tranſit of certain merchandize reduces the receipt of duties, on the interior conſumption of this ſame merchandize, it can never be of any conſiderable portion; for the ſmuggling, which tranſits favour, has difficulties whereby it is reſtrained; whilſt giving a much greater movement in the countries where it is put in practice, the tranſit improves a part of the things, which would otherways remain uſeleſs. Thus in ſuppoſing that the reciepts ſhould decreaſe in a certain office, they would encreaſe more in another.

Unfortunately, a diminution in the receipts, occaſioned by a ſenſible cauſe, ſtrikes the miniſter who does not generalize; and the diſtant advantages which, reſulting from this cauſe, ſhould be a reaſon

who follow it, eſpecially when their own productions can be introduced, to make a part of the payment of thoſe of which they are no more than the factors.

The Americans exported annually, during the years 1768, 1769 and 1770, to Great Britain and the ſouth of Europe, a hundred and fifteen thouſand barrels of rice, worth ſix millions and a half of livres tournois *. It is the moſt conſiderable article of exportation after tobacco, wheat, and flower. It deſerves, therefore, that France ſhould think of it for her commerce, and endeavour to bring it into her ports, to be diſtributed there to other European markets.

INDIGO.

The ſame thing may be ſaid of the indigo of the Carolinas and Georgia; it makes a part of the important productions of the United States, and is conſumed in Europe;—it is therefore neceſſary to open it to the French ports, and afterwards to give it eaſy communications. The Engliſh received of it annually, during the years 1768, 1769, and 1770, to the amount of three millions of livres tournois †.

ſon for letting it ſubſiſt, eſcape, or do not affect him, becauſe theſe advantages cannot become ſenſible before the time, when perhaps he will be no longer in place.

* The exportation from Charleſtown, from December 1784, to December 1785, amounted to 67,713 barrels.

† The exportation of dye-ſtuff, made in 1785, from Charleſtown, amounted to 500,920 pound weight.

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It was principally conſumed in England, Ireland, and the north of Europe, by reaſon of its low price. The indigo of St. Domingo, although dearer, always obtains a preference.

The Indigo of Carolina and Georgia is very inferior to all others; it is hard, earthy, dull, colours but little, and requires in the uſe of it a long and labourious trituration. People were at firſt ſeduced by its low price; but this œconomy is but imaginary, becauſe the defect of its quality muſt be ſupplied by quantity; for which reaſon it has fallen into diſrepute.

As the culture of indigo is every where encouraged, as its quantity encreaſes daily where ever it grows, it is probable that the indigo of the Carolinas and Georgia will ſtill become more difficult to conſume, unleſs it improves conſiderably. It has acquired a much better quality ſince the firſt quantities of it, which arrived in England; but I have not learned that, in general, it is to be compared with the indigo of the loweſt quality from the iſland of Domingo *. It is ſometimes mixed with it, and it is perhaps by this artifice that its conſumption has been continued; but theſe kinds of abuſes have but a time, and merit not the atten-

* Travellers ſay, that Carolina produces indigo almoſt as good as that of the French iſlands; but it is ſcarce, becauſe there are none but rich and induſtrious planters, who, cultivating it with care, gather any of that quality;—it remains in the country.

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tion of Governments;—perſonal intereſt alone is ſufficient to deſtroy them ſooner or later.

There are kinds of dying to which low priced indigo is proper; and, for this reaſon, certain dyers uſe that of the Carolinas and Georgia. In theſe caſes, it has the advantage of requiring leſs in advance.

Therefore American indigo ſhould be admitted as long as there is conſumption for it; for the Americans will continue to cultivate it, until the Europeans will not receive it, but at a price which will not permit the cultivation of it any longer; and ſince this cultivation cannot at preſent be prevented, the moſt advantageous thing is to ſtrive to become agents in the general commerce of this dye-ſtuff.

If we believe Lord Sheffield, the plantations of indigo, on the banks of the Miſſiſippi, are in a proſperous way, and will ſtill be more ſo.

The preſent work will perhaps give riſe to much better information than I can communicate on this important article of commerce, as well as on many others.

FLAX-SEED.

North America ſent to England and Ireland, during the years 1768, 1769, and 1770, flax-ſeed to the amount of two millions and a half of livres tournois;—it was all conſumed in Great Britain. The advantage of paying for this ſeed with Iriſh linens, gave it the preference to that of Flanders and

and the Baltic. Flax-ſeed from theſe countries is, moreover, very dear.

It is the buſineſs of thoſe French merchants, who may be intereſted in the commerce with the United States, to conſider what advantages they will be able to derive from the obſervations of Lord Sheffield. If the culture of flax becomes extenſive in France, foreign ſeed ought to be preferred for two reaſons:—the quality of the production is improved by it, and there is more advantage in ſpinning flax in peopled and induſtrious countries, than in letting it ripen to gather ſeed. It appears, that flax-ſeed comes not in abundance, but from countries where there are not hands ſufficient to ſpin, or give the firſt preparation, even to the flax they produce; it is then proper to cultivate it for its ſeed, which becomes a conſiderable article of commerce;—as long as this ſtate of things ſubſiſts, it muſt alſo be proper for peopled countries to get flax-ſeed from abroad.

Flanders ſeems to be an exception; but the exportation of flax is there prohibited, for the purpoſe of encouraging ſpinning, &c. in this caſe, Flanders, being a country very proper for the cultivation of flax, may leave to many cultivators of this plant no other reſource than the commerce of the ſeed. It is probable, that if the flax could be ſent from Flanders, after the firſt preparation for ſpinning, nobody would think of gathering the ſeed.

SECTION

SECTION VII.

Naval Stores, such as Pitch, Tar, and Turpentine.

LORD Sheffield has written a long article on naval ſtores *. England received conſiderable ſupplies of them from parts of America, comprehended at preſent in the United States, and principally from Carolina and the ſouth. The quantities of theſe articles amounted annually, during the years 1768, 1769, and 1770, to twenty-ſeven thouſand ſeven hundred barrels of pitch; eighty-two thouſand four hundred barrels of tar; and twenty-eight thouſand one hundred of turpentine;—the whole amounting, in the port of exportation, to one million two hundred and twenty-eight thouſand livres tournois.

Theſe ſtores were very valuable to the Engliſh, as well for their commerce as for their proper conſumption. Two conſiderable manufactures, eſtabliſhed at Hull, were ſupported by them;—tar was there converted into pitch, conſiderable quantities of it were exported to the ſouth, where it was received in competition with that from the north

* See Page 78 of the 6th Edition.

of

of Europe. Turpentine, converted in theſe manufactures into oil or ſpirit, furniſhed a conſiderable object of commerce. England conſumes a great deal of it in the preparation of colours, varniſhes, &c.

The American revolution has not made the Engliſh loſe ſight of theſe ſtores: The want they have of them makes it imprudent to truſt wholly to the exportation of theſe articles from Ruſſia and Sweden, where the Engliſh have the Dutch for competitors. Moreover, the navigation of America, leſs dangerous than that of the Baltic, is not like the laſt, limited to a certain time of the year, it is conſequently more frequent and leſs expenſive; ſo that theſe ſtores will come for a long time from America at a lower price than from the north. American tar is as good as that of Europe, thicker and more proper for making pitch; it is preferred for ſheep, even at a higher price. American turpentine is inferior to none but that of France.

England admits naval ſtores from the United States, upon the ſame footing as thoſe from her colonies; and as the ſame ſtores, which ſhe receives from other places, pay in England an entry of twelve ſhillings a *laſt*, or twelve barrels, this duty eſtabliſhes an advantage in favour of the United States;—yet the Engliſh neglect not their commerce of theſe articles with the north of Europe, that they may be always abundantly provided with them. An Engliſh merchant has taught

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the Ruſſians how to furniſh as good turpentine as that from any other nation: This production will be in great abundance there, by the numerous and immenſe foreſts of firs in the neighbourhood of Archangel, where their corps are depoſited.

This ſtate of things ſhews to France what value ſhe ought to attach to the naval ſtores, which may be furniſhed from America. The quantities of them exported from Charleſtown became more and more conſiderable. The poor and ſandy ſoil near the ſea, and which extends from fifty to a hundred miles into the country, in North Carolina and the ſouth of Virginia, produces a great quantity of firs, from which tar and turpentine are extracted;—this is done without much trouble, and the facility of felling and preparing the trees is a great encouragement. The European ports wherein the reſinacious liquids extracted from them can be ſold, the ſooneſt will be preferred.

France produces, conſumes, and exports the naval ſtores;—ſhe alſo imports ſome of them, and Government has laid duties on thoſe which are im-

* In 1782,—2041 barrels of pitch, tar, and turpentine were exported from Charleſtown. In 1783,—14697 barrels. I know not how many barrels the exportation of 1784 amounted to; but that of 1785 conſiſted of 17,000. The ſame encreaſe is obſerved in other articles. The moſt conſiderable is rice, afterwards indigo;—the other articles are, tobacco, deer-ſkins, timber, wheat, butter, wax, and leather. This exportation amounts to near four hundred thouſand pounds ſterling; and the commerce of the United States is ſpoken of in France with contempt.

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ported. As England has freed pitch, tar, and turpentine coming from America from all duties, France ought to do the ſame thing for a ſtill more powerful reaſon: it would be uſeleſs to repeat the motives here.—George I. ſaid to his Parliament, "That in employing the colonies to prepare naval "ſtores, they would be turned from eſtabliſhing "manufactures like thoſe of Great Britain." It is neceſſary to go ſtill farther, the extreme facility of exchanges muſt take from the Americans the deſire of manufacturing. What more ſure means of effecting this, than facilitating to them, the ſale of their raw materials?

SECTION VIII.

TIMBER AND WOOD, FOR CARPENTERS AND COOPERS WORK; SUCH AS STAVES, CASK-HEADS, PLANKS, BOARDS, &c.

FRANCE is, by her own intereſt, engaged to favour the importation of theſe articles, of which the United States can furniſh ſuch great quantities.

Timber fails in France, and will become more and more ſcarce; population deſtroys it:—yet timber muſt be found for houſes, mills, &c.—hogſheads muſt be made for ſugars; caſks and barrels for wine, brandy, &c. Theſe articles of timber are principally furniſhed from the North to the ports of France—but they become dear, their

quality diminiſhes, and the Americans have the advantage in the carriage.*

The value of theſe articles exported from America to Great Britain only, amounted to two millions of livres tournois in the year 1770, according to a ſtatement drawn up in the Cuſtom-Houſe of Boſton. The general exportations to the Engliſh, French, American, and Spaniſh iſlands, and to the different parts of Europe, are immenſe, and become daily more conſiderable. Were not this timber of a good quality, the encreaſe of this commerce would not be ſo rapid. The French have in this reſpect ſome prejudices, which it is of importance to deſtroy. American ſtaves are not eſteemed in France,—yet they have been uſed for a century paſt, in making rum caſks, &c. and if they preſerve this liquor, they will undoubtedly preſerve our brandies.

* It is neceſſary to give our readers an idea of the price of ſome of theſe articles: an American very converſant in them, has furniſhed us with the neceſſary particulars.

White oak planks, of two inches and a half thick, ſawed by the hand, were ſold in 1785, at fifty piaſtres, or two hundred and ſixty livres ten ſols tournois, the thouſand feet.

Ordinary planks of fine white pine an inch thick, fourteen or fifteen feet long, and from a foot to fourteen inches wide, were ſold at the ſame time at ſeven piaſtres or thirty-ſeven livres tournois, the thouſand feet.—Thoſe of a double thickneſs, double the price.

Planks, from two to five inches thick, and from fifteen to ſixty feet long, at twenty-one pounds New York money, or two hundred and ſeventy-three livres tournois, the thouſand feet.—The ſame perſon ſaid he, had ſeen curbs or bent timber at ten ſhillings, New York money, a ton, the expence of cutting, &c. not included.

SECTION

SECTION IX.

VESSELS CONSTRUCTED IN AMERICA, TO BE SOLD OR FREIGHTED.

I Have obſerved on the article on furs and ſkins, that the bulk of the commodities which might be exchanged by the commerce between France and the United States, was, at an equal value, much more conſiderable on the ſide of America than that of France. There reſults from this, that in theſe exchanges, a great number of American veſſels muſt be ſubject to return to America in ballaſt.—This ſtate of things would certainly be prejudicial to the commerce between the two nations, if ſome compenſation could not be eſtabliſhed which ſhould remove the inequality.

This compenſation may be made in a very advantageous manner to both one and the other. The independent Americans conſtruct veſſels for ſale: if it be agreeable to a nation to purchaſe of another the articles which this manufactures at a leſs expence, and with more means; it follows, that the French ought to buy American veſſels; and in fact, this commerce begins to be eſtabliſhed.

Lord Sheffield, after having agreed that the conſtruction of veſſels for ſale or to be freighted,

was a conſiderable object of commerce to the Americans,* adds, "that they will not furniſh France "with them; that by policy ſhe will not permit "them to do it."

The government of France has judged differently; it has exempted from all duties, not only American timber, but all the veſſels built in the United States, and ſold to the French.

We ſhould be ſupriſed at this aſſertion of Lord Sheffield, if he did not prohibit this commerce to his own country.—"Its exiſtence," ſays his Lordſhip, "depends on its navy; this depends as much "on Engliſh ſhip-builders as on Engliſh ſailors; "therefore, of all trades, that of ſhip-building, is "the moſt important to be preſerved in Great "Britain." The advances, according to his Lordſhip, are of little conſequence, and theſe veſſels not being deſtined to be ſold to foreigners, what they coſt ought to be conſidered ſo much the leſs, as the expence is incurred in the country.

Lord Sheffield preſumes alſo, that ſhip-building will be encouraged in New Scotland, Canada,

* Lord Sheffield gives a liſt of the veſſels conſtructed in the different American provinces, in the years 1769, 1770, and 1771.—Their number amounts to one thouſand four hundred and two, their whole burden eighty-one thouſand tons. Theſe veſſels are for the moſt part ſloops and ſchooners:—this number muſt have conſiderably encreaſed ſince the war. The Americans become independent, having merchant ſhips to conſtruct for themſelves, and inexhauſtible reſources for the purpoſe, muſt carry this conſtruction to a great length.

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the Iſland of St. John, &c. Finally, his Lordſhip declares, " that the encouragement of ſhip-build-" ing in the United States, is ruinous to Great " Britain; that it is the ſame to thoſe who may " purchaſe American built veſſels; becauſe not-" withſtanding their cheapneſs, theſe veſſels are " little durable, from the nature of their materials." This obſervation relates particularly to veſſels built for ſale, which his Lordſhip ſays, " are very infe-" rior to thoſe which are beſpoken."

It cannot be denied, that it is of conſequence to a nation which attaches a great importance to its navy, to have ſhip-builders. The repairs &c. of which veſſels are conſtantly in want, would be badly directed, if there were not in the claſs of workmen to whom this induſtry belongs, men capable of conſtructing a veſſel, and habituated to this conſtruction. What is ſtill more, as ſoon as a nation has a navy, it is greatly to its intereſt to poſſeſs every means of improving it; and the poſſeſſion of theſe means is ſo much the more ſecure, when there are eſtabliſhments in the country,— which in this caſe, ſupport emulation, by the conſtant exerciſe of the art.

But it does not follow, that to preſerve ſuch an advantage, a nation ought to have no other veſſels than thoſe which are home built: it is here neceſſary to diſtinguiſh ſhips belonging to the royal navy from merchant ſhips. The firſt, are alone ſufficient to employ a requiſite number of able

builders, and to ſupply every thing which the conſtruction and repairs of veſſels require. But merchant ſhips, of which a conſiderable number is wanted, may be procured from abroad, if thoſe of an equal quality, can be had at a price conſiderably leſs.

Will it be ſaid, that a nation becomes ſo much the more powerful at ſea, as the conſtruction of veſſels is encouraged in her ports? that under this point of view it is neceſſary to be cautious not to furniſh the independent Americans the means of forming a navy, which would render them formidable? that it is at leaſt unneceſſary to haſten theſe means?

If this conſideration were true, it would in ſome meaſure impoſe on France a law to encourage the United States to form their navy: for however formidable her own may be, ſhe has too many natural obſtacles to remove, for her navy to be the effect of any thing but painful efforts, and conſequently that it ſhould be an eſtabliſhment very difficult to maintain,—very expenſive, and ſubject to long intermiſſions. And ſince it is neceſſary to ſpeak conſtantly of a threatening rivality,—of an armed rivality,—France has the greateſt intereſt, to ballance more ſurely the forces of her rivals, by calling to her aid the naval force of a friendly people,—of a people to whom nature has been prodigal in the means ſhe has given them, of having a conſiderable one.

But the policy which refuſed to purchaſe American veſſels, for fear the Americans ſhould become

come formidable at ſea, would be badly founded. A ſure manner of retarding the eſtabliſhment of a navy, by a nation which poſſeſſes the means and materials; the power and activity which ſuch a great eſtabliſhment requires, is to employ it continually in the conſtruction of veſſels for ſale, and to habituate it to this kind of commerce. If this nation, and ſuch is the poſition of the United States, has nothing to fear interiorly from any other power, it will certainly deſpiſe all ſuch military preparations, whoſe profit and utility will not be ſo immediately perceived, as the frequent gains of peaceful commerce. Therefore, let the independent Americans be perſuaded to build veſſels for ſale: let them not be provoked to build ſhips for defenſive and offenſive operations, and they will neglect the great means with which nature has furniſhed them, of having a reſpectable navy: they will even neglect them, when greater riches, and a more conſiderable population, ſhall facilitate to them the uſe of their natural means.

Far from ſuffering by this new arrangement of things, France would gain thereby. This idea will undoubtedly appear extraordinary, becauſe, in abandoning workmanſhip to American ſhip-builders, France is deprived of it: but how eaſily may ſhe compenſate this apparent loſs! In fact, when nothing is to be had without labour, it is then conſidered as real riches: therefore, it ought to be employed with a prudent œconomy, eſpecially in the

ſyſtem of national rivalities. The workmen who will not build veſſels, will make cloth, with which veſſels may be paid for. The expence of manufacturing theſe cloths will be paid at home, as that for the conſtruction of veſſels would have been; by which means, theſe will be had at a cheaper rate. This labour and expence will therefore produce greater advantages, and place the nation in a more deſirable relation with its rivals.

Finally, Lord Sheffield, whoſe narrow policy is here refuted, propoſes that ſhip-building ſhould be encouraged in Canada, New Scotland, &c. But do phyſical circumſtances favour theſe countries as much at the United States? Can England reap real advantages from this encouragement? It is a queſtion with which ſeveral writers have combated Lord Sheffield, and on which I cannot decide.

But if England had this reſource, France would be without it. Veſſels built in America, will always coſt her leſs than her own, or thoſe conſtructed elſewhere: ſhe ought therefore to favour the introduction of the firſt.

A celebrated miniſter, whom France has reaſon to regret, thought as follows: his deſign was to get a part of the veſſels of the French navy conſtructed in Sweden; he thereby expected to make great ſavings: they will be greater and more real, in getting the veſſels conſtructed in the United States.

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The Engliſh themſelves, will not be able to reſiſt the force of things; they will ſooner or later return to the uſe of American veſſels; for theſe coſt but a third* of what Engliſh veſſels are built for; and cheapneſs is the firſt law of commerce.

The bad quality attributed to American veſſels is a fable, ariſing from the following circumſtances: in the contention for independence, the Americans built veſſels in haſte, to arm them as cruizers: they were forced to make uſe of wood which was green, and unprepared; other things were either wanting to theſe veſſels, or precipitately prepared. Conſequently the veſſels were imperfect; but this imperfection was but accidental. A cruize is a lottery, wherein no notice is taken of the goodneſs and durability of the veſſel. It is ſufficient that it be a good ſailor, this is the eſſential quality.

Peace has re-eſtabliſhed the conſtruction of veſſels in the manner it ought to be; and there are American veſſels built before the war, and ſome thirty years ago, which for goodneſs and duration, are not inferior to any Engliſh veſſel.

More progreſs has been made in America than any where elſe in the art of ſhip-building; this is eaſily explained:—it muſt not be forgotten, when the independent Americans are ſpoken of, that they

* In New England the conſtructors of veſſels make their bargains at the rate of three pounds ſterling per ton, carpenter's work included. On the Thames, the price is nine pounds ſterling, for the work alone of the carpenter.

are not recovering from a ſtate of barbarity. They are men eſcaped from European civiliſation, employed, ſo to ſpeak, in creating their country and reſources: no ſhackles reſtrain their efforts, every thing in Europe is looked upon as perfect, and made uſe of, without thinking of improving it. Theſe two eſſential differences, cauſe a very conſiderable one in the intenſity of induſtry.

Boſton has produced a man aſtoniſhing in the art of ſhip-building. Long and cloſely employed in the ſearch of means to unite ſwiftneſs of ſailing in veſſels to their ſolidity, Mr. Peck has had the greateſt ſucceſs. It was his hand which produced the Beliſarius, the Hazard, and the Rattleſnake, which were ſo particularly diſtinguiſhed during the late war, by their ſwiftneſs of ſailing. Veſſels conſtructed by this able builder, have qualities which others have not; they carry a fourth more, and ſail faſter. Theſe facts are authenticated by a number of experiments.

The Engliſh themſelves, acknowledge the ſuperiority of American ſhip-building: "The fineſt veſ-"ſels," ſays Colonel Champion,* "are built at "Philadelphia; the art of ſhip-building has at-"tained in that city the higheſt degree of perfec-"tion. Great veſſels are built in New York, alſo "in the Cheſapeak, and in South Carolina: theſe

* See Conſiderations on the preſent State of Great Britain, &c. page 74.

"laſt

" laſt made of green oak, are of an unequalled ſoli-
" dity and durability."

The American proverb ſays: *That to have a perfect veſſel, it muſt have a Boſton bottom and Philadelphia ſides.*

The French, if connoiſſeurs be believed, are very inferior to the Americans in the minutiæ of ſhip-building. This ſuperiority of America ought not to ſurprize us: it will ſtill encreaſe. The independent Americans who inhabit the coaſts, live by the ſea, and pride themſelves in navigation. As they have competitors, their genius will never ſleep, nor will its efforts be ſhackled in any manner whatever. In France, the people are, and ought to be cultivators; the marine is but a ſubordinate part, and by the nature of things, it muſt enjoy but a very precarious conſideration. Honour, which affects the head of every Frenchman, is diſtributed but at Paris and at Court; and there, men are and muſt ſtill be, far from perceiving the importance of attaching merit to the improvement of ſhip-building: it muſt therefore languiſh, or yield to that of the Americans. Hence it reſults, that the French, in preſerving every thing which can maintain amongſt them an able claſs of ſhip-builders, muſt buy veſſels of the Americans; becauſe every convenience is united to that of facilitating their reciprocal importations and exportations, of which the bulks are ſo different in one nation from thoſe of the other.

This

This circumſtance is attended with the advantage of procuring to the French merchant, an American veſſel at a leſs price, than if he had ordered it to be built, or if he bought it in America; becauſe, it will always be more to the intereſt of the American to ſell his veſſel, than to take it back in ballaſt.

Such is the fitneſs of American veſſels for the French marine, and eſpecially for merchant ſervice; ſuch is that fittneſs for all the European powers which have ſea coaſts, that I think a ſure and commodious road in Europe would ſoon be aſſorted with American veſſels for ſale, if every thing which can encourage a like depoſitory were granted to the port wherein this road might be. This market for veſſels is yet to be eſtabliſhed;—the Engliſh reject it,—will France give it no attention?

SECTION X.

General Considerations of the preceding Catalogue of Importations from the United States, into France.

THE liſt which I have gone through of the articles with which the independent Americans may furniſh Europe, in exchange for her merchandize, is not very long; but theſe articles are conſiderable

ſiderable, and important enough in themſelves, to merit the attention of French merchants: they are ſufficient to deſtroy the prejudices of thoſe, who, under the falſe pretext of the inability of the independent Americans to furniſh articles of exchange, diſdain the commerce between France and the United States. Theſe articles are not, however, the only ones, which France may receive from them.—Independently of pot-aſh,* ſo precious to manufactures, and of which the ſcarcity becomes daily more ſenſible; iron vegetable-wax, wool, flax, hemp, &c. may encreaſe the number.

I ought to hope, that this work, once known in the United States, will excite the independent Americans to co-operate with me, in what I have propoſed to myſelf, which is to ſpread inſtruction on every thing which relates to their country.—They will make known to France, in a more extenſive and complete manner, every thing which can maintain that reciprocal commerce in favour of which I write: they will aſſemble in a work correſpondent to this, all that I have been able to

* The Engliſh received of it to the amount of four hundred thouſand livres tournois per annum, during the years 1768, 1769, and 1770; pot-aſh being the produce of the wood burnt by the Americans, and as the length of the winters obliges them to conſume great quantities of it, it ſeems that the quantities of pot-aſh muſt have encreaſed with population.—This is become more conſiderable, ſince the year 1770; but in ſome parts of the United States, fire wood becomes ſcarce, and a part of the pot-aſhes of the other parts, muſt be conſumed there.

expoſe

expoſe but imperfectly: they will rectify my errors, and give me information in matters of which I am abſolutely ignorant: they will inform me of the phyſical, moral and political details which determine the connections on which their foreign commerce ought to be founded. I invite them to apply to this intereſting ſubject: I pray them to give it for a baſis, more philoſophical, reaſonable and philanthropical principles, than thoſe which have hitherto directed the jealous induſtry of each ſociety. For each, led on by a blind ambition, has wiſhed to embrace every thing, to do every thing at home, and furniſh every thing to others; each has taken for principle to receive nothing from others, except it be gold; each has accuſtomed itſelf to look upon every production, manufactured or unmanufactured, which it ſent abroad as a profit, and all thoſe which it received, as ſo many loſſes. Such is the falſe principle, according to which, all the European nations have directed their exterior commerce.

What would be the conſequence of a like ſyſtem, if it continued to prevail? All nations would be ſtrangers to each other, and exterior commerce abſolutely annihilated; becauſe it tends to take from this commerce that which ſupports it. For the gold which is wiſhed for in payment for exportations, is refuſed to thoſe who would obtain it: all nations look upon the neceſſity of giving it alike; that it is diſadvantageous—and ſtrive to avoid

it. If, therefore, on one ſide, none will take returns in kind, and on the other, nobody will diſpoſſeſs himſelf of his gold, what will become of exchanges? what will become of commerce?

Nature, which intended to make men ſo many brothers, and nations ſo many families;—nature, which to unite all men by the ſame tie, has given them wants, which place them in a ſtate of dependence one on the other;—this wiſe nature, has, by the diſtribution of her gifts, anticipated and condemned this excluſive ſyſtem. She has ſaid to the inhabitants of Nantucket, the rock which thou inhabit is rude and ſtormy; renounce, therefore, the deſire of drawing from it the delicious wines and fruits, which more calm and temperate climates produce.—Look at the ſea which ſurrounds thee,—that is thy property and thy treaſure: I have made it inexhauſtible, and if thou knoweſt how to make uſe of it,—if thou will confine thyſelf thereto, all the enjoyments of the other continent are thine: a ſingle ſtroke of a harpoon dexterouſly thrown, will produce a thouſand times more wine in thy cellar, than if by a painful cultivation thou continues obſtinate, in acting contrary to my intentions.

Nature holds the ſame language to the other inhabitants of the earth: ſhe tells the French to uſe all their efforts in the fruitful ſoil which ſhe has given them, and to ceaſe traverſing foreign ſeas to obtain at an immenſe expence and much riſk, the

fiſh

fiſh and oil which the inhabitants of Nantucket procure with greater facility and more ſucceſs and œconomy.

Why ſhould not all nations underſtand a language, ſo ſimple, ſo wiſe, and ſo proper to produce univerſal harmony? But how are they to be made to underſtand it? By what means are they to be prevailed upon to adopt it? What means are proper to engage nations which might have a direct commerce between them, to ſign a treaty of commerce, which ſhould leave each at liberty to furniſh that which it could export better and cheaper than others; and thus eſtabliſh exchanges on the immutable laws of nature?

As ſoon as nations ſhall be enlightened enough to perceive the advantage of ſuch a treaty, from that moment it will ceaſe to be neceſſary, and every other treaty will be ſtill leſs ſo. It will then be ſeen, that they all center in the ſingle word *liberty*. It will be diſcovered that liberty can put every thing in its place; that liberty alone, without negociation or parchment, can every where give birth to an advantageous induſtry: it will be ſeen, that in hearkening to her impartial decrees, every one will even find himſelf, in paying, although it be in gold, both happy and rich: that without liberty, without her laws, all is but contradiction, trouble and confuſion. Finally, that every where, and at all times, ſhe has ſported with thoſe commercial conventions, of which politicians have ſo ridiculouſly

louſly boaſted; of thoſe conventions wherein the contracting parties are inceſſantly on the defenſive with reſpect to each other, inceſſantly diſpoſed to deceive, and frequently multiply the ſeeds of war in a work of peace.

Under ſuch a ſyſtem of liberty, there would be no longer occaſion for craftineſs in national policy with reſpect to commerce:—of what uſe would it be? No more ſtrife; for it would have no object: no more jealouſy or rivality; no more fear of making others proſper and become rich; becauſe the riches of each ſtate would be advantageous to the whole. In a word, according to this ſyſtem, each nation would wiſh the other more means, in order to have more to give and more to receive. Commerce would become what it ought to be, the exchange of induſtry againſt induſtry; of enjoyments againſt enjoyments, and not againſt deprivations: finally, a ſtate of riches, without poverty on any ſide.

What people have more right and title than the Americans, to be the firſt in adopting ſo philanthropical a ſyſtem, and which is ſo conformable to the laws of nature; at leaſt to do nothing which ſhall retard it among them? Let their Congreſs,—that reſpectable aſſembly, which may become the light of nations, and from whoſe deliberations univerſal happineſs may reſult,—remain faithful to the indications of this nature; let it interrogate her conſtantly, and give every nation the ſame ſalutary habitude.

If Europe refuſes to admit the productions of the United States, let Congreſs,—rejecting the poor policy of repriſals,—open, by a great and republican reſolution, their ports to all European productions. What evil can reſult from this to the independent Americans? If European prohibitions rendered their means of exchange uſeleſs, European merchandize muſt of courſe be without a market in America; or, falling to a mean price in the United States, it would become profitable to the Americans, in paying for it even with gold.

The law may be given to an idle and degraded nation, but never to one which is active and induſtrious. This always puniſhes, in ſome manner or other, the tyrannical proceedings of other nations. The force of things is alone ſufficient to revenge it.

It is a misfortune to the United States, in not having been able to eſtabliſh at firſt, the noble ſyſtem of which I have ſpoken, and to be obliged to have recourſe to the miſerable means of other governments,—that of impoſing duties on foreign merchandize to pay their debts. Every impoſition but a quit rent upon lands is a ſource of errors. The *pretended protecting duties* impoſed in Europe, are one conſequence of theſe errors, and of which the effect leads government aſtray, ſo far as to perſuade them, that they poſſeſs a creative force equal to that of the divinity himſelf. And what are theſe enterpriſes by which men would force nature?

nature? Miſerable hot-houſes,—wherein every thing is haſtened to finiſh the ſooner; wherein induſtry vainly exhauſts itſelf, to ſupport an unnatural exiſtence; and wherein a vigorous whole, is frequently ſacrificed to a corrupted part.

Let the Americans carefully avoid theſe erroneous enterpriſes;—to inſure themſelves therefrom, let them conſider the ſtate of Europe. The Europeans have no longer any judgment in matters of impoſt; ſimple ideas are loſt, and become impoſſible to be realized by the metaphyſic which it is neceſſary to employ to combat ignorance, prejudices and habitudes: all ideas of juſtice and propriety are confounded. A truth cannot be advanced without meeting at every moment, falſe notions to combat. The man of information is fatigued, diſguſted, and frequently at a loſs what to anſwer to objections proceeding from habits of error. He perceives with concern, that the laws of happineſs cannot be written, but upon tables from which there is nothing to be effaced: and ſuch I flatter myſelf, is the ſituation of the United States. They are yet virgin States, they are unacquainted with the inſtitutions which end in chaos, wherein the love of public good loſes all its force.

This ſubject is too prolix to go into it here. There are men of reflection in America. The correſpondence which I open with them by this work, will inform us, to what a degree good

principles will be adhered to.* Let their information tend to preſerve the French merchants from capital errors in their exportations.

Ill ſucceſs, if it attended them, would be diſcouraging, and the French are eaſily diſcouraged. Yet this levity, this want of conſtancy, will diminiſh in proportion as their government ſhall become well informed, in proportion as it ſhall form a more juſt idea of the rights of men; in proportion as it ſhall attach individuals, by public ſpirit, to the public cauſe. They will then think, that they are each *of them ſomething*, and this idea of his own importance conſtitutes the citizen, and, conſequently, the proſperity and greatneſs of States.

France

* Two real friends to the independent Americans, have eſtabliſhed a Gallo-American Society, of which the principal object is to collect and ſpread information on every thing which may be uſeful to the commerce of the two nations, and to render them reciprocally uſeful and animated. Some perſons have become members of this ſociety, to realize this patriotic idea, ſo much the more intereſting, as it excludes all rivality of jealouſy. *The good which the connections of commerce may do to the two worlds*; this is their aim and motto. This will be judged of by the Proſpectus printed at the end of this work. If ſuch a ſociety can be formed in Paris, a like one may be ſo much the more eaſily eſtabliſhed in all the principal ſea ports of France; for it is in theſe places, that the need and habitude of thinking about commerce, leads to the greateſt knowledge. Paris can be the center only, where this knowledge will be brought together, to be the better diſperſed from thence; and to offer to government, in all the commercial tranſactions, which, in the preſent order of things, ſtill require its intervention, information, collected by public ſpirit, and digeſted by impartiality.

France is at the eve of ſeeing this agreable dream realized; ſhe is upon the point of creating provincial adminiſtrations. The reign of frivolouſneſs,—of that mortal frivolouſneſs,—wherein the ſenſible and judicious Stern,* was far from diſcovering the pleaſures and gaiety ſo much boaſted of,—is, therefore, nearly at an end.

Under the ſalutary influence of theſe adminiſtrations, the eſtabliſhments of commerce will be looked upon as patrimonies, not only uſeful, but honourable to be tranſmitted to our children. Then a ſpirit of œconomy, order, fidelity and moderation will be introduced. It is neceſſary to commerce; it is by this only that it proſpers, and acquires conſiſtence and conſideration.

Monteſquieu obſerves, that the enterpriſes of merchants are always neceſſarily mixed with public affairs; but that in monarchies, public affairs are for the moſt part ſuſpicious in the eyes of the merchants. But proſperity and national glory, depend on commerce as much in monarchies as in other conſtitutions. It is therefore the intereſt of monarchies to give to merchants that hope of proſperity which they have in republics, and which inclines them with ardor to every kind of commercial enterpriſe.

* Stern ſaid, that he could not conceive what was meant by French gaiety; that he had never ſeen a more melancholly nation: it is becauſe gaiety is in a conſtant happineſs, and not in acceſs of folly and giddineſs, nor in intoxication.

Provincial adminiſtrations are the ſureſt means of producing this happy effect. If they were already eſtabliſhed, the French would comprehend, how abſurd it is to imagine that the United States will not diſcharge their public debt; how impoſſible it is that Republicans ſhould make uſe of the diſhonourable reſource of bankruptcy and deception; and that their public ſpirit, their morals and intereſt require them to diſcharge this debt, contracted for the moſt legitimate and honourable cauſe that ever exiſted; and which is otherways but an atom when compared with their immenſe reſources. French merchants would then give themſelves leſs concern about the manner in which their merchandize was to be paid for in America. For in the improbable caſe of a want of American productions, or of precious metals, they have, as a laſt reſource, the paper of Congreſs and the States; which paper it is an advantage to acquire, by the price at which it is obtained, by the intereſt it bears, the certainty of its being paid, and by the conſequent tranſmiſſion which may be made of it in commerce, to the wealthy Dutch merchant, to whom the paper of the whole world becomes neceſſary, the moment it merits confidence.

I have mentioned precious metals. The Americans are in the neighbourhood of the countries which produce them. Theſe countries are the abodes of indolence, which diſpenſes not with neceſſaries. Skins, &c. of animals, and ſome metals, are

are every thing that can be given there in exchange for articles of ſubſiſtence, which the inhabitants have not the courage to make their lands produce; and for the neceſſaries, for which they find it more convenient to pay with gold, than with their induſtry. The independent Americans will become factors, advantageouſly placed between European manufactures, and the inhabitants of regions condemned by nature to the ſterile productions of metals. All the powers of Spain cannot prevent this, nor ought even to undertake it. This new conſideration promiſing to the French payment, ſo fooliſhly deſired in gold, ought to encourage them to prepare for a commercial connexion with the United States.

Lord Sheffield, who is conſtantly an enthuſiaſt, with reſpect to his favourite ſyſtem of national monopoly, announces nothing but ruin to other nations, which ſhall undertake to trade with the United States. He leſſens on one ſide, the articles which may be received from them in exchange, to exaggerate the neceſſity they have of credit; and on the other, he declares the Engliſh merchants alone capable of giving to the Americans, the credit which they cannot do without. The ſolid and conſtant power of ſupplying the wants of America, of receiving her productions, and of waiting her convenience, belongs, ſays his Lordſhip, to our merchants in excluſion of thoſe of other nations. If we can but preſerve ourſelves, ſays he, from a

fatal precipitation, we ſhall learn, to our great ſatisfaction, that our induſtry will meet but few competitors in the market of America.

There can be no doubt, but his lordſhip was here carried away by his patriotiſm: he has neither reflected upon the means the United States have of doing without this credit, nor of thoſe of France to give it.

Provincial adminiſtrations will cauſe Caiſſes d' Eſcompte to be eſtabliſhed. Every commercial or manufacturing city will enjoy this advantage, as ſoon as it can have one, without fearing the contrarieties of monopoly. Theſe Caiſſes will be immediately applied to facilitate commerce, to aid manufactures, and to eſtabliſh a ſure credit, little expenſive and directed by good principles.

Adminiſtration will give force to public ſpirit, and keep off that influence of the capital, where experience has clearly proved, that theſe eſtabliſhments are as uſeful, when they favour an induſtry really productive, as they are pernicious, when they ſerve only to favour the barren and corruptive efforts of avarice.*

Another obſervation I have to make, is relative to packet-boats. I have already obſerved, that they

* How cautious men ought to be of being deceived by compariſons: the Bank of England gave birth to the Caiſſe d' Eſcompte of Paris; and Paris and London reſemble each other ſtill leſs, than the French and Britiſh conſtitutions.

they would be favourable to the firſt ſteps of prudence, taken to gain information relative to the ſituation and productions of the United States. They have been ſince put upon a regular footing by an Arret, publiſhed in December, 1786. They are to be diſpatched eight times a year from Havre to the United States. The paſſengers have permiſſion † to take with them ſome merchandize.

But the high price put upon the freight, ſeems to reſerve this means of exportation to merchandize of great value and little bulk. It would have been more political, to have granted to each paſſenger, a certain number of cubical feet of ſtowage, to be made uſe of as he might have thought proper, and to have fixed the freight at the ordinary price. This method would have deſtined the packet-boats to trials of every kind, and would have facilitated the firſt ſteps of a prudent commerce, which leads from one thing to another; from a little commerce to a moderate one, and from a moderate commerce to one which is conſiderable. It would have been a preſervative againſt the prejudicial favours accorded to particular enterpriſes, protected by the directors, who may make packet-boats uſeful to monopoly, and not to commerce.

The motives upon which this exceſſive price of freight has been determined, is ſpecious but in the eyes

† See an extract from the Arret of the 14th of December, 1786, at the end of this volume.

eyes of merchants who reflect but little. For far from being prejudicial to the principal navigation, the packet-boats muſt ſerve to prepare its means of ſupport.

It is perceived with pain, that the ſpirit of commerce did not always preſide at the compoſition of this regulation. The Arret obliges merchants, for inſtance, to aſk for permiſſions to ſhip merchandize on board the packets. Why were not thoſe kinds of merchandize which it was meant to exclude, ſpecified before hand? The obligation to obtain permiſſions is a diſcouraging reſtraint. Uncertainty gives riſe to fears in the minds of merchants, and to chicaneries in thoſe who are appointed to execute the law; the ideas of theſe men are always contrary to public ſpirit.

And herein is manifeſted, that empire which Paris uſurps over every thing, even over that which cannot come within its juriſdiction. The principal government of the packet-boats is at Paris, whilſt the director ought to live in the port from which they are diſpatched. There are many caſes wherein his preſence is neceſſary. His principal function is to take care, that the paſſengers be well treated and accommodated: it is of importance that they ſhould be expoſed to no ſpecies of cavil; but, on the contrary, that attention be paid to free them from embarraſſments. The paſſengers ſhould perceive, that government is willing to permit commercial enterpriſes with the United States, and

to

to favour thoſe who make them the object of their induſtry. How happens it, that the idea of making the packet-boats produce the effect expected from the doubtful and frequently inefficacious means of premiums, did not enter the minds of thoſe who drew up the regulations to which theſe packet-boats are ſubjected?

Finally, packet-boats ſhould be conſidered as diligences, but conſtituted upon more generous and patriotic principles than theſe heavy land carriages, wherein the eaſe of travellers, whom monopoly obliges to make uſe of them, is ſacrificed to the avarice of the proprietors

CONCLUSION

And Reflections on the Situation of the United States.

IN treating of the principal articles which the French and the independent Americans may exchange with each other, by giving full liberty to commerce, I have ſufficiently indicated the means which France ought to uſe, to make their commerce flouriſh. I propoſed to examine the relations which muſt exiſt between our ſugar colonies and the United States. Theſe relations were not ſufficiently conſidered, in the quarrel which has ſeparated the American colonies from the mother country. The nature of things, and thoſe indeſtructible circumſtances which are never combated but very imperfectly, and at the expence of a more advantageous ſyſtem, remain to be conſulted on this ſubject.

I intended alſo, to terminate this work by a deſcription of the preſent condition of the United States; but circumſtances oblige me to defer the thorough examination of theſe two important objects, and to detach it from the work I preſent. The exterior commerce of France, not being foreign to

the intereſts now under ſolemn diſcuſſion, it appears to me, that no time ſhould be loſt in laying my work before the perſons charged with the direction of this diſcuſſion. Although it be in appearance wholly intended to throw light on our relations with the United States, it is founded upon a theory which embraces the general ſyſtem of commerce; and commerce preſents itſelf with all its importance in the great reform, which the preſſing intereſts of France require.

I will finiſh this volume by ſome explanations of the pretended troubles which agitate the United States. Theſe explanations are neceſſary to deſtroy the unfavourable impreſſions which muſt be made by the unfaithful recitals of gazette writers, who, from ſervile prejudices, or mean intereſt, affect to ſpread doubts of the happy conſequences of the revolution. If we believe theſe people, the independent Americans are plunged into inextricable embarraſſments, forced to become bankrupts, given up to the moſt violent anarchy, expoſed to the tomahawk of the implacable Indians, &c. How is it poſſible, to reſolve to carry on a commerce with people whoſe ſituation is ſo deplorable? Ought not their ruin to be feared rather than their fortune hoped for, in the connexions which it is wiſhed to form with them?

It is neceſſary to refute theſe falſehoods. It is ſo much the more ſo, as ignorance eaſily leads people, little acquainted with republican conſtitutions,

tions, into error; and that led a ſtray by the prejudices of their educations, a great number of Frenchmen look upon this form of government as a ſtate perpetually in a ferment, wherein life and property are continually expoſed to the greateſt dangers.

Theſe prejudices lead to the belief of the moſt puerile and abſurd fables. The leaſt attention is not paid to circumſtances. Would the United States have a Congreſs of magiſtrates, if it were true that the people were at war with them? For how could Congreſs and the magiſtrates defend themſelves? They have no other defence but the reſpect which each individual has for the law, this is their only force. It is the obligation that the conſtitution impoſes on them in common, with the meaneſt citizens, of being obedient to the law, as the laſt means which conſtitute their only ſafety, and which maintains in all caſes and every where, the authority which the people have confided in them. They cannot employ a phyſical force farther than the people are willing to lend them, becauſe they have neither an army, nor ſoldiers in pay.

A diverſity of opinion exiſts wherever there are men. It belongs not to one conſtitution more than to another; but the eſſence of a republican government is to leave to each individual, the liberty of expreſſing his ſentiments on every ſubject.

In

In the United States, legiſlation is more and more formed in proportion, as things relative to each other are verified, extended and multiplied. Is it aſtoniſhing, that debates ſhould ariſe on account of the different laws which are propoſed, diſcuſſed and adopted? Theſe debates become public, animate converſation, and make it highly intereſting. But is this anarchy?

The word *anarchy*, is one of thoſe words which has been moſt abuſed and miſapplied. It is therefore neceſſary to explain it.

Where anarchy reigns, there is neither chief, government, law, nor ſafety. Each individual becomes the defender of his own perſon, the ſocial contract is broken, and there is no longer any confidence or tranſactions, becauſe there can be no more contracts. Authority, changing at every inſtant its rules, principles and aim, becomes cruel or contemptible; it deſtroys or is deſtroyed. Such a ſtate exiſts not long; or if it does exiſt, it ſoon divides ſociety into armed herds, enemies to each other, and which ſubſiſt but in proportion, as they fear and counterbalance each other's power.

Is any thing like this ſeen in the United States? Are there diſputes even about the principles of the conſtitution; the fundamental laws, or the propoſed end? Has not every thing relative to this been long ſince agreed upon? The preſent debates relate

relate wholly to ſome rules of adminiſtration: it is upon the beſt manner of ſerving the public cauſe, and of ſupporting it, that minds are ſtill in a ſalutary agitation; and this agitation hinders not more the regular courſe of public affairs and tranſactions, than the debates in the Engliſh Parliament hinder the monarch from naming to offices, and conferring rank—than they ſtop the courſe of juſtice, or are impediments to the affairs of every claſs of citizens.

The word *anarchy*, is proper to ſtates, which like Egypt, have twenty-four ſovereigns and neither laws nor government. It is applicable to the degenerated conſtitutions of Aſia, where the adminiſtration is divided into ſeveral departments, independent of each other, traverſing one another in their views and pretenſions, the operations of one part interfering with thoſe of the other, all having the power of making particular laws, or of ſuſpending the effect of thoſe which exiſt. There a real anarchy reigns, becauſe it is not known where the government is, nor in whom the legiſlative power is veſted. This incertitude brings on diſorder, renders property unſtable, and endangers perſonal ſafety.

None of theſe evils exiſt in the United States. Let thoſe who are in doubt about it, deign to follow me in the abſtract of their ſituation, and of their late operations.

I will

I will not reſt upon the excellence of the organiſation of the States.* Thoſe to whom it may appear problematical, need only read the judicious obſervations of one of the firſt political philoſophers in Europe, Doctor Price:—"The United "States," ſays the Doctor, "have the diſtinguiſhed honour of being the firſt under Heaven "which have eſtabliſhed forms of government favourable to *univerſal liberty*. If they have thus "diſtinguiſhed themſelves in their infancy, what "will they not do in a more advanced ſtate of "things, when time and experience, the concourſe "of wiſe and virtuous men, diſſeminated over the "earth, ſhall have introduced into theſe new governments the reforms and improvements, which "will bring them ſtill nearer to liberty, and furniſh them the means of encreaſing the happineſs and dignity of the human ſpecies.—Does "not the dawn of happy days appear among "them, as a new creation riſing on the earth? It is "to the United States that may one day be applied, "with more reaſon than it was ſaid of the Jews, "*that in them all the families of the earth have been "bleſſed.*"

* It is neceſſary to read on this ſubject the work publiſhed by the learned Mr. Adams, Ambaſſador from the United States to the Court of London, and which has for title, *A Defence of the Conſtitution of the United States.*—London, 1787.

The author proves the wiſdom of the American conſtitution, in comparing it with ancient and modern republics, &c.

Theſe reforms and improvements are indeed ſlow; but ſlowneſs is neceſſary, becauſe public diſcuſſion ought to precede them. This ſlowneſs is ſo much the greater, as the particular ſituation of each individual, obliging him to repair the ravages of war and the breaches made by them in his fortune, leaves him leſs time to examine public affairs. But notwithſtanding this order, no anarchy reigns in the United States. In each of them, the clearing of lands encreaſes; cities, and what is ſtill more valuable, diſtant plantations multiply, and replace the ancient foreſts which covered the ſoil of America. The greateſt perſonal ſafety exiſts every where, and without this ſafety, how could ſuch numbers of families expoſe themſelves in forming eſtabliſhments which are neceſſarily very diſtant from each other?

America is not yet gnawed by the vermin which devour Europe, by indeſtructible mendicity: thieves render not her foreſts dangerous: her public roads are not ſtained with blood ſhed by aſſaſſins. How ſhould there be aſſaſſins and robbers? There are no beggars, no indigent perſons, no ſubjects forced to ſteal the ſubſiſtence of others to procure one to themſelves.* Every man finds there lands to produce him articles of ſubſiſtence: It is not loaded with taxes,

* It is true that we read in the American gazettes, advertiſements relative to thefts and cheating. But obſerve, that theſe few thefts are committed in cities, and eſpecially in ſea ports; and principally by

taxes, but renders to each with uſury, a recompenſe for his labour. A man who can live eaſy and honourably, never conſents to diſhonour himſelf by uſeleſs crimes, which deliver him to the torments of remorſe, diſhonour, and the vengeance of ſociety.

There are three circumſtances which may have led the Europeans into error, relative to the pretended troubles in America. It has been ſaid,—"Theſe States have juſt terminated a frightful war, "of which the ravages were terrible. At the peace, "miſery muſt have been great; hence thefts. Theſe "States have, moreover, diſbanded their troops, and "what is become of them? If ſome of the ſoldiers "are returned to agriculture, or to their work in "cities, there are many others, who, accuſtomed to "idleneſs and the effuſion of blood, muſt have "diſdained the peaceful arts, and have made a "trade of maſſacring their fellow citizens.

"Finally, there are no men armed by ſociety, "to repreſs the diſorders of this banditti; no "marechauſſée and no police: moreover, men are "ſcarce in the States, and their laws reprobate "theſe means."

Philoſophers have more than once reproached men with conſidering the divinity according to

by depraved Europeans, who carry there, for want of an inclination to induſtry, all the crimes and manœuvres of European idleneſs and indigence. Indigence in the United States is known but in Virginia, which is accountd for in the article of tobacco.

their own image, and conſequently of giving an unfaithful repreſentation of him. This may be applied in the preſent caſe; the Europeans judge of the Americans according to themſelves, and for which reaſon they are deceived. They tranſport to America the *overflowing of their cities*, their miſery, their political and moral vices, and the crimes which derive therefrom; and not ſeeing there, the ſame precautions which their own governors take to provide againſt them, they imagine that diſorder is univerſal, and that blood is ſhed with impunity.

The ravages of the ſeven years war were undoubtedly terrible; but as ſoon as the faulchion could be converted into a plough-ſhare, the land became fertile and miſery diſappeared. The American ſoldiers were citizens and proprietors before they became ſoldiers; they remained citizens in uniform, and returned to their profeſſions on quitting it; they did not fight for money, nor by profeſſion, but for their liberty, their wives, children, and property; and ſuch ſoldiers never reſembled the banditti of the old continent, who are paid for killing their fellow-creatures, and who kill on the highways for their own account, when peace obliges their maſters to diſband them. There has been ſeen in America, (what the annals of the world preſent not in any ſtate, except that of Rome) a General, adored by his ſoldiers, diveſt himſelf of his power, as ſoon as his ſervices became no longer neceſſary,

neceſſary, and retire into the boſom of peace and obſcurity; a numerous army, which was not paid, was ſeen generouſly to conſent to diſband, without payment; the ſoldiers to retire, each to his home, without committing the leaſt diſorder, and where each tranquilly retook either his plough, or his firſt trade or profeſſion; thoſe trades which we in Europe look upon as vile *. This is what reſults from liberty; but what is inconceivable in moſt European ſtates, a military ſpirit reigns there, and its prejudices are predominant. War is the road to glory, ambition, and fortune; and to preſerve to this profeſſion its luſtre and preponderance, it is an eſtabliſhed principle, that a *ſtanding army* is neceſſary to maintain order in ſociety; that it ought

* The following advertiſement is taken from the American papers, in which there are a thouſand others of a like nature.

Two brothers, Captains, who diſtinguiſhed themſelves during the war, returned at the peace to their trade of hat-making;—they inſerted in the gazette an advertiſement as follows:

"The Brothers *Bickers*, inform the public, that they are returned "to their old profeſſion of hatters, which they had abandoned to "defend the liberty of their country. They hope that their fellow-"citizens will be pleaſed, in conſideration of their courage and ſer-"vices, to favour them in their buſineſs, and prefer them to others." What European captain would put his name to a like advertiſement?

The TRANSLATOR anſwers, that a Britiſh officer, not a captain it is true, but a lieutenant, had the courage to apply to his Majeſty for leave to go into buſineſs, in order to ſupport, in a more liberal manner, his wife and four children. The king not only granted his requeſt, but continued to him his pay. The officer took a ſhop, and became a hatter and hoſier, and ſucceeded.

always to threaten the citizens, although peaceful, to keep them in ſubmiſſion to authority. This uſeleſs burden, this pernicious ſpirit is unknown to the United States;—public ſpirit, much more favourable to good order, takes its place, and peace and ſafety reign without marechauſſée, or ſpies, or that police, which diſparages the morals and characters of citizens. Public ſpirit ſupplies the place of all theſe means, whilſt they will never ſupply the want of public ſpirit; nor, like it, produce the happineſs of ſociety.

In vain will prejudiced men exclaim, that this is declamation—I offer them facts *. The American ſhould rather deſpiſe Europe, in remarking to us the continual ſlaughter we make of thieves and aſſaſſins; in comparing the immenſe number of dungeons, priſons, hoſpitals, and eſtabliſhments of every kind, inſtituted to cure or palliate the incurable ulcers of the old inſtitutions. In comparing this diſguſting liſt with the very few murders and theſts committed in the United States,

* It is neceſſary to read the American gazettes, not thoſe altered by the Engliſh gazette-writers, but thoſe which are printed in America; theſe only can give a juſt idea of the ſituation of the United States. It muſt be obſerved, that every thing which paſſes is regiſtered; that nothing, which has the leaſt relation to public affairs, is concealed; that theſts and murders are carefully publiſhed, whilſt our gazettes keep the moſt profound ſilence on theſts and aſſaſſinations which are committed in each province: Europeans are treated like ſick perſons, from whom every thing which may give the leaſt idea of their diſorder is concealed.

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with the hoſpitals, truely *domeſtic* and humane, which are eſtabliſhed there, with the happineſs of each American family and their ſimple manners, and in proving to us, by their example, that a wiſe liberty regulates the ſocial man, and renders uſeleſs thoſe ruinous machines with which he is cruſhed, leaſt he ſhould do any harm.

The war againſt the ſavages or indians offers more reality than the anarchy with which the Americans are abſurdly reproached; but this war ought to inſpire no fear,—the cauſe of it is known; it is the fruit of the reſentment of the Engliſh, and of the narrow policy of ſome ſubalterns, who ſtrive to embarraſs the Americans, and to traverſe the fur trade, in particular, which muſt fall into their hands.

This commotion of the indians will be but of ſhort duration; it is impoſſible that their illuſion ſhould not ſoon ceaſe, and that they ſhould not perceive themſelves to be but paſſive inſtruments in the hands of the Engliſh, they will diſcover that, by devoting themſelves to theſe, they act contrary to their own intereſts; that their intereſt is to live in peace with their neighbours, who border almoſt every where upon them, who announce the moſt rapid progreſs, and whoſe population, continually increaſing, would ſoon deſtroy them, if they determined not to be peaceful with neighbours, who offer them peace freely and ſincerely, and who ſeriouſly take all poſſible meaſures, that

there may never be the leaſt provocation on the part of the United States *.

The enemies of theſe United States have much encreaſed the troubles, which lately manifeſted themſelves in that of Maſſachuſet. The cauſe of theſe troubles is the ſame as that of the war againſt the indians; it is ſtill the effect of the reſentment of ſome of the Engliſh, and eſpecially of the loyaliſts of New England, who, bordering on that ſtate, ſpread, by means of their ſecret partizans, the ſeeds of diſcord; it is not, therefore, from the ſpirit of republicaniſm that theſe troubles have ariſen, but wholly from the manœuvres of men, full of regret, on account of their having oppoſed a revolution honourable to the cauſe of humanity, and which has been crowned with ſucceſs. Theſe are the cauſes to which the diſturbances are to be attributed, and not to liberty. The illuſion ſoon ceaſed;—the people ran to the aid of the magiſtrates and Government, as ſoon as the manœuvres and hatred of the loyaliſts were unmaſked; even the ſeditious, at firſt ſeduced, have ſeen their error, and laid down their arms at the command of a truely paternal authority †.

Not

* See the regulation, made by Congreſs, towards the end of the year 1786;—but, at the ſame time, that Congreſs preſents the olive-branch to the Indians, it ſhews itſelf prepared for war. Some ſavage tribes have already concluded a peace.

† Great encomiums are due to the magiſtrates, for the firmneſs they diſplayed on this occaſion, to the energy and vigilance of Governor

Not a drop of blood would have been ſhed, but for the temerity of one of the chiefs of theſe deluluded men*. What a little blood has been ſhed; and before this happened, what precautions were taken to prevent there being any victims! For the true citizen reſolves but at the laſt extremity to ſhed the blood of his deluded brother; in republics, all means which reaſon can ſuggeſt are uſed before it is employed; for in theſe governments no blood is counted vile and contemptible.

A free people muſt not be judged by the people of our immenſe capitals; ſervile when they think themſelves weak, ferocious when they perceive themſelves the ſtrongeſt, ſuſceptible of paſſions, but never of reaſoning. Theſe capitals, theſe monſtrous excreſcences, the produce of degradation, and which contaminate and degrade thoſe whom they contain, exiſt not in America. If theſe enormous capitals were compared with each other,

Governor Baudouin, and to the patriotiſm of the celebrated Adams and Payne. The addreſs, compoſed by theſe two gentlemen, is a maſter-piece of logic and eloquence.

* The chief was a reduced officer, of the name of Shays, who, on the 24th of January 1787, attempted to ſeize on the barracks of the Government army. General Shephard informed him, that he ſhould be obliged to fire upon him if he perſiſted; Shays was reſolute; ſome ſhot were fired at firſt in the air, and afterwards at the inſurgents; three of them loſt their lives, and others were wounded. The General might have eaſily deſtroyed them all. It was the laſt remains of commotion in this ſtate. Having taken meaſures to prevent the evils, which theſe deluded men might do, he wiſely waited until they diſperſed of themſelves, and every thing is now ſettled.

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beginning with Conſtantinople and finiſhing with London, would diſorders be found leſs frequent, or commotions leſs dangerous, in proportion, as the people are more reſpected in them?

The troubles, in well formed republics, can never be either conſiderable or of long duration; becauſe they contain a regenerating principle, which ſoon operates the reform of abuſes, if any exiſt; which unites all the citizens againſt the common danger, if an inſurrection has nothing more than a pretext: Such was the double effect produced by the troubles in the ſtate of Maſſachuſet.

This momentary commotion muſt have produced ſeveral advantages: That of cauſing the general aſſembly to reform ſeveral abuſes; and that of teaching the independent Americans to be upon their guard againſt the inſinuations of ſecret enemies, and eſpecially againſt inſurrections; a violent means which can never be proper for a legiſlative people, as long as they can diſavow their repreſentatives, and change them if they miſbehave.

The ſame pretence of calumniating the independent Americans has been found in the ſpecies of diviſion, which the creation of paper money occaſioned in Rhode Iſland. Superficial minds, and ignorant news-carriers, argued upon theſe trifling commotions, to decry both the American conſtitutions and paper money*; to deſcribe the Americans

* Paper-money is not, as I have already obſerved, pernicious in itſelf; it never becomes ſo, but when accompanied with reſtraint, when,

cans as ſharpers, and their country as uncultivated and barren.

They ſay, with a tone of confidence, ſee what the Americans are about! Troubles, every where troubles! To appeaſe them Heaven ſhould ſend them tyrants! Men are every where the ſame! They muſt be held with chains! Philoſophers ſpeak highly in favour of the Americans! Aſk theſe haughty republicans for a crown, and ſee if they will give it!

Theſe diſcourſes betray thoſe who hold them, accuſtomed to ſee nothing in a favourable light; but under the name of a crown, they turn their eyes from the ſymptoms of real miſery. Let them look upon Spain, *it is the land of crowns* and population, agriculture, and commerce are far from flouriſhing there, as they do in the United States. I will not repeat what I have ſaid upon the ſcarcity of money; it will be a ſign of proſperity among the independent Americans, as long as they are active and induſtrious, and as long as they have lands to clear; for it will announce that lands are cleared and cultivated, and that population encreaſes.

It would not be ſurpriſing that there ſhould be in ſome of the United States a want of men, who

when, without confidence, it is wiſhed to be forcibly put upon a footing with coin, and ſubſtituted for it;—this is certainly the fault committed in Rhode Iſland, for which reaſon the paper was rejected. Paper-money circulates in ſtates where there is no conſtraint, becauſe confidence is eſtabliſhed; but wherever authority is interpoſed, it deſtroys it.

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had not a ſufficient knowledge of the theory of paper-money. This ſcience is but little cultivated, —it is eaſy to go aſtray in it. We have ſeen, even in Paris, bankers, who have underſtood their own intereſt ſo little, as to aſk for paper-money *conſtrained.* Ought we, therefore, to be aſtoniſhed, if in America, where the neceſſity of it is more felt, errors are committed in the employment of this grand reſource; and if the people, who can always do without ſuch a reſource, are afraid of it?

However, this may be;—all theſe commotions are of no conſequence, and cannot be of long duration; every thing is to be hoped from a people generally free, and whoſe greatneſs is not founded upon the abaſement of another; from a people, whoſe public debt has, for the firſt time, a truly, honourable, and legitimate cauſe; and which is, moreover, far from being ſuperior to their means; from a people, whoſe cultivation, induſtry, and progreſs are not ſhackled or retarded by fiſcal neceſſities, by prejudices, or by a bad conſtitution; from a people, who deteſt conqueſts and a military ſpirit; whoſe only end is a general peace and the happineſs of individuals; who bears in every thing they do, at home or abroad, in their private and political ſituations, the energetic character of public ſpirit, ſo rare in Europe.

If we conſider every thing which has paſſed in the United States, ſince the return of peace, we

ſhall find this public ſpirit in all their legiſlative acts, in all their reforms and improvements.

In that generous and unexampled ceſſion, which different ſtates have made of their too extenſive territories to congreſs;—this ceſſion exculpates theſe republics from all the views of ambition and aggrandiſement, with which they are reproached, and fixes their baſis in circumſcribing their limits for ever*.

We ſhall find it in the unanimous and declared conſent of all the States, to pay the public debt; and, in their intention to acquieſce in the infallible means, which muſt annihilate it, it is the duty of the true friends of the independent Americans to inſiſt upon this union, to remove all doubts from the French and other Europeans, who are the creditors of America.

The ſame public ſpirit will alſo be found in the regulation of Congreſs †, which ſimplifies the monies, and reduces them to an eaſy diviſion for commerce. By this a great example is ſet to Europe; the example of ſeveral ſtates, independent of each other,

* Virginia, in its act of ceſſion to the Congreſs, ſtipulated, that the government of the ceded diſtricts ſhould always be republican; and that a man, poſſeſſing an hereditary title, ſhould never be admitted to the rights of a citizen.

† The plan, propoſed by the judicious and learned Mr. Jefferſon, was followed in making this regulation. One of the moſt ſtriking parts of this plan is, to reduce all the calculations on money to a decimal ratio.

other, occupying a vaſt extent, and yet having the ſame money, as well as the ſame weights, meaſures, and language. How many vile profeſſions, how many deceptions and diſorders are prevented by the ſole uniformity of money! The operation of Congreſs has not, indeed, attained the leaſt degree of ſimplicity, to which the ſyſtem of money might have been carried; but it may lead to it; and its probable that this ſyſtem will ſooner be adopted there than in Europe; where, England excepted, the falſe opinion of drawing a national revenue from money ſtill exiſts.

The general conſent of the States to have but one common ruler, relative to the interior commerce *, and to reform the abuſes which may creep into the feudal ſyſtem, is a proof of public ſpirit.

The general diſpoſition of all the States, to give a good reception to ſtrangers †, which is manifeſted in the treaty of peace and amity between the States and Pruſſia, wherein the ridiculous prejudices which diſhonour the diplomatic of the pre-

* The convocation of the deputies of the different ſtates, which has already taken this object into conſideration, was held at Philadelphia, in the month of May, 1787.

† Let us open our ports, ſaid Governor Clinton, in 1784, to every nation; let us give protection, encouragement, and ſecurity to all; let us adminiſter juſtice impartially to the ſtranger, as well as to the citizen.

See the excellent diſcourſe of this Governor, delivered in the General Aſſembly of New York, 21ſt January, 1784.

ſent age, are for the firſt time abjured; and wherein it is agreed, that war ſhall not affect either agriculture, induſtry, or commerce, is a viſible effect of public ſpirit.

Alſo that uneaſineſs which the virtuous Americans diſcover at the appearance of luxury, which encreaſes among them; the means which they uſe to ſtop its progreſs, and to preſerve their original ſimplicity *.

Public ſpirit will be found in all the laws paſſed by the different ſtates; in that which recalls the loyaliſts §; for this ſpirit knows no implacable vengeance; in another law which ſuppreſſes the confiſcation of the property of thoſe who are culpable; a barbarous cuſtom, which had its origin in the diſaſtrous time of the Roman proſcriptions, and has been preſerved by the rapacious ſpirit of feudality.

In the religious regulations, by which a civil and religious toleration is every where eſtabliſhed; a toleration highly neceſſary, of which ignorance

* The moſt reſpectable members of the State of Maſſachuſet have made a ſociety to ſtop the the progreſs of luxury.

§ Colonel Alexander Hamilton, Aide-de-Camp to General Waſhington, publiſhed on this ſubject, in 1784, at New York, a letter, under the ſignature of *Phocion*, full of judicous reaſoning, to prove that, according to the treaty of peace, all perſecution of the loyaliſts ought to ceaſe. Obſerve that the Colonel was one of the moſt warm republicans.

only

only, or prejudices can combat the evident advantages.*

In all the laws which ſanction the eſtabliſhment of houſes of education, of great roads, canals, and of every thing which can contribute to the aggrandiſement of interior commerce; let us not forget the fineſt action which does honour to the public ſpirit of the United States: the liberating of the negroes. This liberation, which will ſoon be univerſal in all that part of the world, † is, however, the work of one ſect, the Quakers; ſo unjuſtly outraged by ſuperficial or corrupted minds.

This fact alone, muſt prove the prodigious aſcendency of the conſtant zeal of a virtuous individual, over his nation, over the age in which he lives,—over the whole world,—when his intentions are noble and generous. Benezet, this diſtinguiſhed Quaker,—this apoſtle of humanity, goes over all the United States, preaching every where the

* See at the end of this work, the Act of the State of Virginia, on religious tolerance.—As it appeared to me to be the moſt philoſophical of all the Acts, and fit to ſerve as a model to all the European States, which are not ſo far advanced, I have inſerted the whole of it.

See alſo the Act of the General Aſſembly of Rhode Iſland, of February 1783, which permits the encreaſe of the Catholic religion, and admits Catholics to all the rights of other citizens.

† All the States have publiſhed laws more or leſs ſevere againſt ſlavery: that of Virginia, ſubjects thoſe who ſhall import Negroes, to a conſiderable fine.

liberty

liberty of the Negroes. He firſt converted his brothers: they, in their turn converted all the other ſects: thoſe who have hung back, bluſh at their barbarity; and perhaps, the day is not far diſtant, when all the Europeans, aſhamed of this ſcandalous traffic, will abjure it for ever. This is what the example of a ſingle American will have produced.*

And theſe are the men, the laws and the government caluminated. Theſe men who are deſtined to regenerate the dignity of the human ſpecies!—Theſe laws which ſcourge nothing but crimes,—which puniſh them every where, and are never ſilent in the face of power!—This government, which is the firſt that ever preſented the image of a numerous family, well united, and completely happy; wherein power is juſt, becauſe it circulates through every hand, and reſts in none; wherein obedience, becauſe it is voluntary, anticipates command; wherein adminiſtration is ſimple and eaſy, becauſe it leaves induſtry to itſelf; wherein the magiſtrate has little to do, becauſe the citizen is free, and that a citizen always reſpects the law and his fellow creature! Theſe are the prodigies which we calumninate; we, Europeans, enſlaved by anti-

* Compare the encouragements given in Europe to the Negroe trade, with the little value attached to whites. A Negroe coſts two thouſand livres tournois, and a white is ſacrificed for a hare, which he may have killed; or for a partridge whoſe neck he may have twiſted. Let us leave there this incommodious humanity; but it muſt be agreed, that it is a bad ſpeculation for national wealth.

quated conſtitutions, and by the habitudes given to us by prejudices, of which we know not either the barbarity or the frivolouſneſs! We ſpeak well, but act badly; why, therefore, do we calumniate men, who not only ſpeak, but act well? If it be not permitted us to have their virtues, nor to enjoy their happineſs, let us not decry them; let us reſpect that ſuperiority to which we cannot attain.

If any individual has ſtill doubts or prejudices unfavourable to the Americans, let him conſider the conduct of the Engliſh towards them. What people ought ſooner to abandon all intercourſe with the United States, if they were the ſeat of anarchy and diſhoneſty; if nothing elſe were to be expected there but the chance of loſing the property confided to individuals, or even to the ſtates? Yet the Engliſh, the principal authors of ſuch fables, of the exaggerations which I refute, are far from relaxing in their commerce with the United States. They have meaſured its whole extent, and their only fear is, that of not being the ſole providers of theſe vigorous colonies, whoſe daily activity creates new conſumptions, with new conſumers. I have quoted ſeveral proofs of this, in the courſe of the preſent work, in examining the opinions of Lord Sheffield: his Lordſhip conſecrates, by a ſtriking contradiction, whole pages to decry the independent Americans, their productions and reſources, whilſt on the other hand he

takes notice of every thing which can inſure to the Engliſh the principal commerce with the United States. If this commerce could not be otherways than diſadvantageous, would he not adviſe his countrymen to give it up? Would he recommend government to take care to do nothing to its prejudice?

It will, perhaps, be objected, that the Parliament of England has juſt deferred the concluſion of a treaty of general commerce with the United States, under the pretext that their conſtitutions were not yet enough fixed.*

The Engliſh government has good reaſons for not preſſing the concluſion of this treaty. It is becauſe, it has fixed by a proviſional treaty the moſt important articles, and could not conclude a general treaty without executing all the articles of the treaty of peace, which it does not yet ſeem diſpoſed to do; moreover, this government knows well that commercial treaties, create not commerce, and it leaves the Engliſh merchants to begin firſt, and ſound the ground upon which the edifice is to be erected; it gives time to obſerve and interrogate a foreign people, with whom it is to form an alliance: it leaves Engliſh induſtry free in its exterior

* When European nations, and the Engliſh themſelves, are ſeen to trade in Turky, with the Algerines and at Grand Cairo, it cannot be imagined that they were ſerious, when they decried and rejected commercial connections with the United States, under the pretence that their legiſlation was not yet well enough eſtabliſhed.

motions, and ſuffers it to make attempts wherever profit is to be expected. In a word, the Engliſh government waits for the lights of private experience, before it wiſhes to come to a deciſion.—Therefore, the inaction of this government ought to authoriſe no concluſion againſt any kind of commerce whatever, when it is moreover a conſtant object of the ſpeculations of individuals.

It is not the ſame with French commerce: accuſtomed to take no ſtep without being obliged to have recourſe to the intervention of government, to remove obſtacles created by private intereſts, by the fiſcal, and frequently by monopoly; the French merchant dares not attempt a new commerce, before government has prepared the way to it: government ought to do this until the moment, when, rendering an entire liberty to commerce, private ſpeculators will be able to make attempts without inquietude.

It muſt not be doubted, but this difference of poſition in the French and Engliſh merchants, relative to their governments, has a great influence upon their reciprocal proſperity; and for this reaſon, it ſhould be inceſſantly repeated to the French government, that if it wiſhes to inſure the proſperity to its commerce, it ought to adopt the means employed by England, and which are: *liberty of acting,—the right of proteſting againſt the attempts made on that liberty,—and the certainty of juſtice,—without*

without reſpect to perſons:—theſe are the baſis of the genius, induſtry, and greatneſs of a ſtate; and without which, a great commerce cannot exiſt: this baſis may be eaſily conciliated with that of the French conſtitution.

FINIS.

Papers relative to this Work.

LETTER N° I.

Addreſſed to M. JEFFERSON, *Miniſter Plenipotentiary from the United States of America, to the Court of France.*

Fontainbleau, 22d. October, 1786.

SIR,

THE King's intention being to favour as much as poſſible, the commerce of the United States, I have the honour to communicate to you, ſome diſpoſitions made for that purpoſe.

By a letter of the 9th of January, 1784, to the Marquis de la Fayette, I informed him, that inſtead of two free ports, promiſed by the treaty to the United States, the king had determined to grant them four, which has been effected; and I promiſed him to conſider the cuſtoms and duties on importation and exportation which ſhackle commerce; obſerving to him, that theſe objects

required conſiderable application; they have not yet been completed. By another letter, I informed the Marquis, that his Majeſty had ſuppreſſed the duties on the exportation of brandy, a meaſure which he hoped would be uſeful to American commerce; I aſſured him alſo, that the duties of the king and admiralty, payable by an American veſſel on its arrival in a port of France, ſhould be diminiſhed; and afterwards that ſuch of them as remained, ſhould be reduced to a ſingle duty, to be regulated according to the number of maſts or draught of water, and not according to the too uncertain eſtimation of gauging. This reduction requires an exact knowledge of all the duties received in the ports, and as they are of various ſpecies, the ſtate which I ordered to be drawn up of them, has not yet been given in.

You know, Sir, the king has charged a particular committee, to examine our commercial connexions with the United States, and that the Marquis de la Fayette has laid before it, a project analogous to the ideas contained in your letter to the Count de Vergennes: but you muſt perceive, how imprudent it would be to hazard, by a change of ſyſtem, the produce of a branch of revenue, which amounts to twenty-eight millions of livres, without falling upon any object of the firſt neceſſity. After an ample diſcuſſion of every thing, which might at preſent favour the importation of tobacco from America to France, it has been decreed, not that the

the agreement made with Mr. Morris ſhould be departed from, but that after the expiration of it, no other of the ſame import ſhould be made; and that in the mean time, the Farmers General ſhould be obliged to purchaſe annually about fifteen thouſand hogſheads of American tobacco, coming directly from the United States in French or American ſhips, at the ſame prices as ſtipulated in the contract made with Mr. Morris.

You will recollect, Sir, that whilſt the demands which had been made for whale oil were under conſideration, the Marquis de la Fayette, made a private arrangement with M. Sangrain, permitting him to receive as much of that article as ſhould amount to eight hundred thouſand livres tournois, and that I had granted paſs-ports to exempt this firſt quantity from all duties whatſoever. M. Sangrain made afterwards an agreement with the merchants of Boſton, for whale oil, to the amount of four hundred thouſand livres a year, for ſix years, for which his Majeſty has promiſed the ſame favours as enjoyed by the Hanſe towns.

This matter having lately been examined under a more general point of view, the adminiſtration, to which the committee has made its report conformable to the requeſt of the Marquis de la Fayette, and to your opinion, relative to the entire abolition of all duties on oils, has diſcovered, that it cannot conſent to it for the preſent, on account of engagements entered into with other powers. All

that

that could be done, was to inſure for ten years, whale oil, ſpermaceti, and every thing comprehended under theſe denominations, coming from the United States in French or American ſhips, the ſame favours and moderation of duties as are enjoyed by the Hanſe towns.

His Majeſty hopes, commercial connexions between the United States and France, will become extenſive enough to engage him to continue the effect of this proviſionary deciſion; and as it has been obſerved in the committee, that a conſiderable duty was paid upon the making of the moſt favoured whale oils, and even upon national ones, his Majeſty conſents to aboliſh this duty, with reſpect to the former, and upon ſpermaceti coming immediately from the United States in French and American ſhips; ſo that ſpermaceti and theſe oils will have to pay for ten years to come, no more than ſeven livres ten ſols, and the ten ſols per pound, for all manner of duty; the laſt augmentation of ten ſols per pound to ceaſe in 1790.

It has been determined, to gain particular information upon the conſumption in France of rice from Carolina, and that encouragement ſhould be given to the exportation of that article.

Upon the repreſentations which have been made, touching the conſiderable duties paid on the entry of pot aſh and pearl aſh, as well as relative to thoſe of beaver ſkins and fur, and raw hides, his Majeſty has ſuppreſſed all the duties on pot aſh,—

on

on the fur and ſkins of beavers,—and on hides, coming raw from the United States, on board American or French veſſels. He will alſo conſider of proper encouragements to be given to every article of the ſkin and fur trade.

His Majeſty has equally conſented to free from all duties, maſts and yards of every ſpecies, red cedar, green oak,—in ſhort, all timber proper for the conſtruction of veſſels, coming from the United States in French or American ſhips.

The committee having alſo repreſented, that there was a duty of five per cent upon the purchaſe of veſſels built abroad, and that this duty was prejudicial to the ſale of American veſſels, his Majeſty has taken this into his conſideration, and exempted the purchaſe of all ſhips which ſhall be proved to have been conſtructed in the United States, from every duty of the kind.

Trees, ſmall ſhrubs, and ſeeds of trees alſo, pay high duties, which his Majeſty agrees to aboliſh, upon ſuch as ſhall be ſent from the United States to France, on board French or American ſhips.

It having been repreſented, that the State of Virginia had ordered arms for its militia to be made in France; it has been determined, that the prohibitions, which have hitherto hindered the exportation of arms and gunpowder, as well as the duties required in caſes of particular permiſſions, ſhould be aboliſhed, and that whenever the United States ſhall wiſh to have from France, arms, fuſils, and gun-

gunpowder, they ſhall have full liberty to do it, provided it be in French or American ſhips, and that thoſe articles ſhall be ſubject to a very moderate duty only, ſolely for the purpoſe of calculating the exportations.

Finally, his Majeſty has received in the ſame favourable manner, the demand made to the committee, to ſuppreſs the conſiderable duties hitherto paid on books and paper of every kind. His Majeſty ſuppreſſes all duties on articles of this kind, deſtined to the United States, and put into French or American veſſels.

It is with pleaſure, Sir, I announce to you theſe diſpoſitions of his Majeſty, which are a new proof to you of his deſire, to unite cloſely the commerce of the two nations, and of the favourable attention he will always give to propoſitions, which ſhall be made to him, in the name of the United States of America.

I have the honour to be, with a ſincere attachment,

Sir,

Your very humble and very obedient Servant,

(Signed,) DE CALONNE.

Your nation, Sir, will undoubtedly ſee with pleaſure, the facilities the king has juſt given to the exportation of the wines of Bourdeaux, Guienne, and Touraine, and the ſuppreſſions of duties granted to that effect, by different Arrets of Council, with which the Marquis de la Fayette will be able to acquaint you.

LETTER Nº. II.

AN ACT FOR ESTABLISHING RELIGIOUS FREEDOM, PASSED IN THE ASSEMBLY OF VIRGINIA, IN THE BEGINNING OF THE YEAR 1786.

WELL aware that Almighty God hath created the mind free, that all attempts to influence it by temporal punishments or burthens, or by civil incapacitations, tend only to beget habits of hypocrity and meanness, and are a departure from the plan of the Holy Author of our religion, who, being Lord both of body and mind, yet chose not to propagate it by coercions on either, as was in his Almighty power to do; that the impious presumption of legislators, and rulers civil, as well as ecclesiastical, who, being themselves but fallible, and uninspired men, have assumed dominion over the faith of others, setting up their own opinions and modes of thinking as the only true and infallible; and as such, endeavouring to impose them on others, hath established and maintained false religions over the greatest part of the world, and through all time: that to compel a man to furnish contri-

contributions of money for the propagation of opinions which he diſbelieves, is ſinful and tyrannical; that even the forcing him to ſupport this or that teacher of his own religious perſuaſion, is depriving him of the comfortable liberty of giving his contributions to the particular paſtor whoſe morals he would make his pattern, and whoſe powers he feels moſt perſuaſive to righteouſneſs; and is withdrawing from the miniſtry thoſe temporal rewards, which, proceeding from an approbation of their perſonal conduct, are an additional incitement to earneſt and unremitting labours for the inſtruction of mankind; that our civil rights have no dependence on our religious opinions, more than on our opinions in phyſics or geometry; that, therefore, the proſcribing any citizen as unworthy the public confidence, by laying upon him an incapacity of being called to offices of truſt and emolument, unleſs he profeſs or renounce this or that religious opinion, is depriving him injuriouſly of thoſe privileges and advantages to which, in common with his fellow citizens, he has a natural right; that it tends alſo to corrupt the principles of that very religion it is meant to encourage, by bribing with a monopoly of worldly honours and emoluments, thoſe who will externally profeſs and conform to it; that though indeed theſe are criminal who do not withſtand ſuch temptation, yet neither are thoſe innocent who lay the bait in their way; that to ſuffer the civil magiſtrate to intrude

trude his powers into the field of opinion, and to reſtrain the profeſſion or propagation of principles, on ſuppoſition of their ill tendency is a dangerous fallacy, which at once deſtroys all religious liberty, becauſe he being of courſe judge of that tendency will make his opinions the rule of judgment, and approve or condemn the ſentiments of others, only as they ſhall ſquare with or differ from his own; that it is time enough for the rightful purpoſes of civil government, for its officers to interfere, when principles break out into overt acts againſt peace and good order: and finally, that truth is great and will prevail, if left to herſelf; that ſhe is the proper and ſufficient antagoniſt to error, and has nothing to fear from the conflict, unleſs by human interpoſition diſarmed of her natural weapons, free argument and debate; errors ceaſing to be dangerous, when it is permitted freely to contradict them.

Be it therefore enacted by the General Aſſembly: That no man ſhall be compelled to frequent or ſupport any religious worſhip, place or miniſtry whatſoever; nor ſhall be enforced, reſtrained, moleſted, or burthened in his body and goods, nor ſhall otherways ſuffer on account of his religious opinions or belief; but that all men ſhall be free to profeſs, and by argument to maintain, their opinions in matters of religion; and that the ſame ſhall in no wiſe diminiſh, enlarge, or affect their civil capacities.

And

And though we well know that this Aſſembly, elected by the people, for the ordinary purpoſes of legiſlation only, have no power to reſtrain the acts of ſucceeding Aſſemblies, conſtituted with powers equal to our own, and that, therefore, to declare this act irrevocable, would be of no effect in law; yet we are free to declare, and do declare, that the rights hereby aſſerted, are of the natural rights of mankind, and that if any act ſhall be hereafter paſſed to repeal the preſent, or to narrow its operation, ſuch act will be an infringement of natural right.

LETTER

LETTER N°. III.

PROSPECTUS OF THE GALLO-AMERICAN SOCIETY, ESTABLISHED AT PARIS, IN THE YEAR 1787.

FRANCE has by her arms contributed to confirm the independence of free America.

A treaty of commerce founded upon the intereſt of the two countries, muſt unite them more and more intimately.

The moral and political good of the two nations, ought to be the object and principal reſult of theſe commercial connexions.

They cannot be extended but by putting it in the power of the two countries to know each other better, in approaching the French individual, to the American individual.

Nothing, therefore, is more neceſſary than to fix a point, a center, where an account of every thing of conſequence which is done in each nation may be collected together. Our ſociety will form this center.

It is neceſſary, for inſtance, that every thing which paſſes in the United States ſhould be known in France, that every uſeful thing which is done in France ſhould be regiſtered there, that it ſhould be made public, and afterwards, that the ſociety ſhould employ all its influence to cauſe uſeful inſtitutions to be adopted.

Such is one of the objects of the Gallo-American ſociety, eſtabliſhed at Paris;—ſuch are the conſiderations which were the cauſe of its eſtabliſhment.

If a like ſociety be formed in free America, as there is reaſon to hope for ſuch a meaſure, it will be employed in publiſhing in America, every uſeful diſcovery which French genius can make,—every thing uſeful which the French Adminiſtration can realiſe.

It would be uſeleſs to particulariſe the advantages which will reſult to the two countries, from the eſtabliſhment of like ſocieties.

It is more neceſſary to indicate the principal objects which are to engage the conſideration of the Gallo-American Society at Paris.

The reciprocal commerce of the two countries will particularly engage the attention of the Society. It will make reſearches which may throw lights upon this commerce, and ſeek after means which may remove all obſtacles to its progreſs.

The ſtate of agriculture,—new canals,—uſeful inventions,—the progreſs of induſtry and of the human mind,—of the legiſlation, fœderal, political or civil, of the United States: theſe are the moſt important points, to which the attention of the Society will be directed.

To gain information thereon, the Society will procure from America, gazettes, journals, books, the acts of legiſlation, the journals of Congreſs, &c. and every thing which may ſerve to give lights upon the ſubjects mentioned.

The Society will form correſpondence with the American Societies, which ſhall be employed about uſeful objects: it will receive in its Aſſemblies the Americans, whoſe affairs ſhall bring them to France, and whoſe knowledge ſhall enable them to give inſtruction.

On the other hand, to give continued information in Europe on the ſtate of free America, the Society will take all poſſible means to publiſh, either in the gazettes and journals of the Continent, or in publications apart, according to the advice of the Aſſembly, the reſult of its reſearches.

The utility of the two worlds: this is the aim of the Society. Every thing which can contribute to this end will engage its attention. It will be compoſed of men of every country, profeſſion, and religion, provided they be capable of a conſtant and ſerious attention to the good of humanity.

LETTER

LETTER N°. IV.

REGULATION FOR THE PACKET-BOATS, ESTABLISHED BY THE ARRET OF COUNCIL, 14th DECEMBER, 1786.

THIS regulation contains ſeventeen articles, the principal ones which concern the United States, are as follow:

ART. I. The Tarif annexed, ſhall ſerve as a baſis for the collection of duties, as well relative to paſſengers as upon the merchandize which may be ſhipped in packet boats.

ART. V. The eight expeditions deſtined to the United States of America, will be all from the port of Havre, the 10th of Februrary, 25th March, 10th May, 25th June, 10th Auguſt, 10th. September 25th November, and 25th of December. The veſſels will go directly to New York, from whence they will ſail the ſeventy-fifth day after their arrival, to return to the port from which they firſt ſailed.

ART. VII. To give a greater facility to the different claſſes of perſons who ſhall wiſh to make uſe of the packet boats, there will be eſtabliſhed, three different kinds of treatment for the paſſage: the firſt at the captain's table, the ſecond at that of the ſailing maſter, the ſurgeon and the volunteer; and the third at the ration.

ART. IX. Each of the paſſengers at the firſt table, ſhall have permiſſion to take three cheſts; thoſe of the ſecond two; and thoſe at the ration one; each of the cheſts ſhall not weigh upwards of two hundred pounds, nor be more than four feet and a half cube; and the ſurplus of the effects which each paſſenger may have with him, ſhall be ſubject to pay freight according to the price of the Tarif.